AN OUTLINE OF ANCIENT HISTORY

HAMILTON & BLUNT

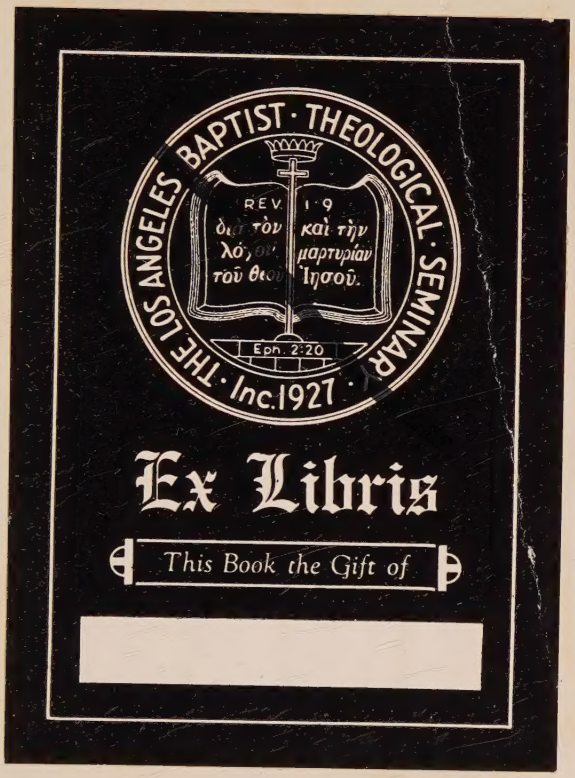
ITALY
HELVETII
SEDUNI
SALASSI
RAETIA
NORICUM
Eporedia
Mediolanum
INSUBRES
CENOMANI
Verona
VENETIA
Aquileia
PANNONIA
GALLIA TRANSPADANA
Vercellae
Cremona
Mantua
Patavium
TAURINI
Clastidium
Trebbia R.
Placentia
Tanarus R.
Parma
R. Rhenus
Atria
HISTRIA
LIGURIA
GALLIA
Mutina
Via Aemilia
LINGONES
Bononia
Ravenna
Genua
CISPADANA
Rubico R.
Ariminum
ADRIATIC
Pistoria
Faesulae
Luca
Pisae
Arnus R.
Florentia
SENONES
Metaurus R.
Sena Gallica
Ancona
UMBRIA
PICENUM
Volaterrae
Arretium
Cortona
Lake Trasimenus
Tiber R.
Via Flaminia
Nuceria
ISSA
Salonae
DALMATIA
43
CORSICA
ETRURIA
Clusium
Perusia
Asculum
CORCYRA NIGRA
Volsinii
Ilerna
Spoletium
Adria
Epidaurum
Tarquinii
Praeta
VESTINI
MAR

MACEDONIA
Pella
Amphipolis
Thessalonica
CHALCIDICE
Pydna
Olynthus
Potidaea
Torone
M. OLYMPUS
Tempe
M. OSSA
Larissa
Peneus
EPIRUS
THESSALY
Cynoscephalae
Demetrias
Corcyra
Ambracia
Artemisium

B.V. Darbishire, Oxford 1913

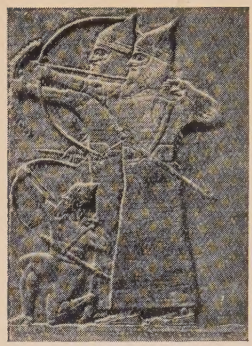
Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024

https://archive.org/details/outlineofancient0000mary


THE LOS ANGELES BAPTIST · THEOLOGICAL · SEMINARY
REV. 1·9
καὶ τὴν
μαρτυρίαν
Ἰησοῦ.
Eph. 2:20
Inc. 1927
Ex Libris
This Book the Gift of

1422.1

A



Assyrian

Persian

An Egyptian army on the march

Greek

Roman

FOOT-SOLDIERS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

LOS ANGELES BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

AN OUTLINE OF ANCIENT HISTORY

TO A.D. 180

by MARY AGNES HAMILTON
and A. W. F. BLUNT

Vicar of St. Werburgh's, Derby
Formerly Fellow and Classical Lecturer
of Exeter College, Oxford

ATHENE

ROMA

930.8R
Ham

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
London Edinburgh Glasgow New York
Toronto Melbourne Cape Town Bombay
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Humphrey Milford

THE MASTER'S COLLEGE
POWELL LIBRARY
SANTA CLARITA, CA 91321

930
Ham

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Teachers have often asked that Mrs. Hamilton's *Outlines of Greek and Roman History* should be enlarged to contain the history of the Ancient East. In this edition Mr. Blunt contributes the new sections on Babylonia, Egypt, Assyria, and Persia; Mrs. Hamilton's section on Greece and Rome remains unchanged. The whole can now be called fittingly 'An Outline of Ancient History'.

Impression of 1927
First edition, 1924

Printed in England at the Oxford University Press
By John Johnson Printer to the University

CONTENTS

PART I. THE ANCIENT EAST

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Babylonian Empire	ix
II.	The Egyptian Empire	xxvii
III.	The Assyrian Empire	xxxix
IV.	The Chaldaean and Persian Empires	xlix

PART II. GREECE

I.	The Beginnings of Greece	9
II.	Athens and Sparta	15
III.	The War with Persia	24
IV.	Athens under Pericles	32
V.	The Peloponnesian War (I)	40
VI.	The Peloponnesian War (II)	47
VII.	The Ascendancy of Sparta	59
VIII.	The Ascendancy of Thebes	65
IX.	The Rise of Macedonia	70
X.	Alexander the Great	74

PART III. ROME

I.	The Beginnings of Rome	85
II.	Rome and the Gauls	93
III.	Samnite Wars	100
IV.	Rome Mistress of Italy	105
V.	Hannibal	113
VI.	An Empire Overseas	126
VII.	The Gracchi	134
VIII.	Marius and Sulla	140
IX.	The Triumvirate	146
X.	Caesar	153
XI.	Augustus	164
XII.	The Flavian and Antonine Emperors	182

INDEX 191

CHRONOLOGY

	Asia.	*Egypt.*	*Greece.*	*Rome.*
Sumerians into Babylonia	5000			
Egyptian calendar begins		4241		
Egypt a nation		3500		
Pyramids built		3050–2500		
Semites into Assyria and Babylonia	3000			
Babylonian Empire	2750			
Semitic settlements (Phoenicians, Aramaeans, Canaanites)	3000–2250			
Early Aegean civilization			3000–2000	
Hammurabi in Babylon	2100			
Rise of Hittites	2000			
End of Babylonian Empire	1800			
Hyksos invasion of Egypt		1700		
Expulsion of Hyksos		1575		
Egyptian Empire		1540		
Fall of Troy. Northern invasions			1300–1000	
Cretan power breaks up			1250	
Collapse of Hittites and Egypt	1200	1200		
Philistine settlements	1200			
Hebrews occupy Canaan	1200			
Kingdom of David	1000			
Supremacy of Damascus	900			
Assyria begins to grow	900			
Assyria attacks Syria and Israel	854			
Assyrian Empire full-grown	800			
Homer's *Iliad*			*c.* 800	
First Olympiad			776	
Foundation of Rome				753
Damascus destroyed	732			
Samaria destroyed	723			
Urartu destroyed	710			
Assyria conquers Egypt	670	670		
Scythian raids	650			
Medes attack Nineveh	647			
Babylon independent	626			
Fall of Nineveh	612			
Chaldaean and Persian Empires	604			
Solon			594	
Death of Nebuchadnezzar	562			

	Asia.	*Egypt.*	*Greece.*	*Rome.*
Pisistratus			561	
Cyrus King of Persia	553			
Cyrus conquers Lydia	545			
Cyrus conquers Babylon	538			
Cambyses conquers Egypt		529		
Persian Empire full-grown	529			
Darius	522			
Expulsion of kings from Rome				509
Marathon			490	
Salamis			480	
Confederacy of Delos			478	
Peloponnesian War			431–404	
Sicilian expedition			415	
Aegospotamoi			405	
Battle of the Allia				390
Leuctra			371	
Mantinea			362	
Chaeronea			338	
Death of Philip			335	
Battle of Issus			333	
Samnite Wars				326–290
Death of Alexander			323	
Pyrrhus in Italy				280–270
First Punic War				264–241
Second Punic War				219–202
Battle of Cannae				216
Battle of Zama				202
Battle of Pydna				168
Tiberius Gracchus				133–131
Battle of Aquae Sextiae				102
Marian proscriptions				85
Sulla in power				80
Catiline's Conspiracy				63
First Triumvirate				60
Caesar in Gaul				58–49
Murder of Caesar				44
Battle of Actium				31

ILLUSTRATIONS

We owe a large debt to Dr. D. G. Hogarth, Mr. G. Boyce Allen, Mr. Bernard Ashmole, Mr. Stanley Casson, and Mr. Percival Hart who have allowed us to draw freely on collections of photographs which they have themselves taken.

THE ART OF PRIMITIVE MAN

Bushman Paintings from South Africa. (*Miss Helen Tongue*)

PART I

THE ANCIENT EAST

I. THE BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

We do not know in what part or parts of the world the first men and women existed. They must have been little better than animals in their ways of living, and

A TYPE OF PREHISTORIC MAN
By the courtesy of Mr. Adolphus E. Rost.

have left nothing except a skull or a bone here and there by which we may guess what they were like.

But men gradually grew cleverer and more skilful. They learnt to make fire, and to chip pieces of stone with other stones into weapons such as axe-heads and

spear-heads, to fit on to wooden shafts, for use in hunting and fighting. This period is called the Stone Age and lasted for thousands of years. But all the time men were becoming more human and more clever. At last we find that they have learnt to scratch and carve signs and pictures on rocks and in caves. From this time onwards they made such rapid progress that they soon reached a stage when we can begin to call them civilized. They no longer live as savages, but begin to have governments, laws, crafts, and settled intercourse with one another. They are now living in settled 'society', i.e. association with each other.

Man reached this stage more slowly in Europe than in the East; and so the history of civilized man begins in the East. At the point where this history begins, we find men divided already into three great groups, the Semitic, the Hamitic, and the Aryan or Indo-European; the Bible calls them respectively sons of Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Further east, e.g. in China, are other great groups. But, so far as we know, the people of further Asia never touched the history of western Asia till thousands of years later. So we need only think of the three groups we have named. From the first have come such people as the Babylonians, Assyrians, and Hebrews; from the second came the early Egyptians; from the third all European peoples are descended, as well as those of India and Persia. These groups, where our history begins, are not finally settled, but live in different parts of the world, the Semites in Arabia, the Hamites in Africa, the Indo-Europeans round the Caspian Sea. They are still splitting up into various divisions, which are moving off in different directions in search of food for their growing numbers, and of settled homes, and at last settle down in different parts of the world, where they find what they want.

From Nomad Life to Settlement in Arabia

(*Photographs by R. Gorbold*)

But the peoples of the East have progressed furthest; and civilization has grown most quickly in one particular part of the East. If we draw two straight lines from north to south, one running along the coast of Asia Minor and the western border of Egypt, the other along the eastern side of the Caspian Sea to the bottom of the Persian Gulf, and two other straight lines from East to West, joining the first two, one along the line of the Balkan mountains to the head of the Caspian Sea, the other across the south end of the Red Sea and the south coast of Arabia, we get a kind of rough square. This square is called the Near East, and it is in this part of the East that the first great civilizations arose.

Even in this square, we can look more closely and find the centre of these civilizations. If we look at the map of the Near East, we notice a kind of band or belt, shaped like a crescent;[1] this starts from the head of the Persian Gulf and stretches northwards nearly to the source of the river Tigris; it then turns westwards until it reaches the Euphrates; then it curves southwards through Syria and Palestine as far as the desert of Sinai. On the other side of that desert, a kind of extension of this belt runs southwards along the line of the river Nile. This belt is a crescent of fertile land; and all the early civilizations of the East developed within it.

In this belt are two great fertile plains, one at each end; one is in Egypt, the other is that plain near the mouths of the Tigris and the Euphrates, which used to be called the plain of Shinar, then was called Babylonia, and is often given the name of Mesopotamia, which means the 'region between the rivers'. In the rest of the belt the plains are less fertile or are more broken by

[1] 'The Fertile Crescent.' This illuminating phrase was coined by Professor Breasted in his admirable *Ancient Times* (Ginn & Co.) which is recommended for further study.

hills and valleys. But in these two large, rich, and well-watered plains, great united populations could live and thrive. Here then were likely to be the chief centres of any ancient empire.

But of course the peoples living in this belt would be liable to dangers both from inside and from outside. In the first place they might quarrel among themselves; and especially, the two peoples holding the two great

TRADE. A Caravan. (*R. Gorbold*)

plains would be very likely to be jealous of one another. All trade caravans would have to go along the line of the belt, as both desert and mountain on either side of it would be very difficult ground to go through. So each of the two powers would want to gain the advantage by controlling as long a stretch of this line as possible. Thus they might be led to fight with one another for mastery of the line.

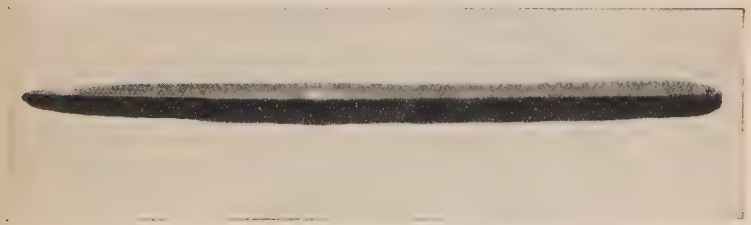
But there would also be dangers from outside. On the edges of the belt lie sea, mountain, and desert; and from any one of these danger might come.

(*a*) Any threat from the sea was not likely to come soon. Ancient ships were too small to carry large armies; and in ancient days, when sailors had no compass to guide their steering, they did not like to cross the open sea or to get too far away from land. Thus any one wanting to attack the belt from the West would come by land; and it was not till much later, not in fact till Alexander the Great (334), that any power in the West became strong enough to attack the fertile belt.

(*b*) Mountain and high table-lands run round the top of the belt from Asia Minor to Elam (east of the head of the Persian Gulf). These were occupied from early times by Indo-European tribes, which are supposed to have come from south Russia and the Caspian Sea region. These were great hordes of men, women, and children, always moving about in search of food and settled homes, and constantly pushed on by new waves of similar hordes coming out of south Russia. Some of these settled quite early in Elam. Others, later on, founded kingdoms in Asia Minor and Armenia. But others kept on coming behind; and all this mass of peoples was thus like a great tide, always trying to wash over into the fertile belt. This is the way in which the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Chaldean Empires in turn fell.

(*c*) South and west of Egypt lay the African deserts, from which the desert-tribes might attack the people of the Nile: whilst in the curve of the belt lay the deep desert of Arabia, where the Semitic tribes lived a wandering life (we call them nomads or Bedouin = wanderers), passing from oasis to oasis in search of grass for their flocks, of water, and of food. Usually they wandered in fairly small bands, as there is not enough food for large numbers in any one place in the desert.

THE EARLIEST PICTURE WRITING; about 4000 B.C.
An engraved stone from Kish in Sumeria. (*Professor Langdon*)



THE EARLIEST PEN. A bone instrument for writing cuneiform (wedge-shaped) signs. About 2000 B.C. (*Professor Langdon*)

WRITING by means of wedge-shaped signs

But at times, driven by hunger or the desire for civilized luxury, they would collect into big multitudes and then flood over into the fertile lands. Egypt more than once had to meet this threat; and this was the way in which the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Chaldaean Empires, and the Phoenician, Syrian, and Hebrew kingdoms were set up.

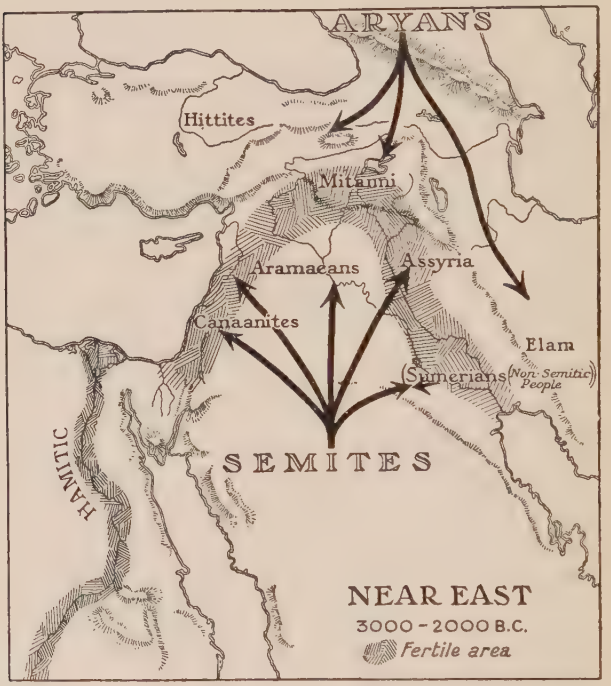
Now the ancient history of the Near East is mainly the story of the way in which desert, mountain, and sea have treated the peoples of the fertile belt; and we can now begin to study that story.

Somewhere about 5000 B.C., a people called the Sumerians came (probably from central Asia) and settled in the plain of Shinar, especially in the south part, which was called Sumer, the north part being called (then or later) Akkad. We do not know to what degree they were civilized before they came into Sumer. But in Sumer, when first we find traces of them, they have settled down in city-kingdoms under priest-rulers, who are constantly fighting against each other. We can also see that they were great traders; among other things, they imported a great deal of copper (perhaps from Sinai or Asia Minor). They had learnt to till and water the land, to cut and carve stone, to work in metal. They had also learnt how to write. They had no paper, but made wedge-shaped ('cuneiform' is the technical word) signs with a pointed reed on slabs of soft wet clay, which were then baked hard, so that the marks remained. The Sumerians could also reckon time fairly well. They divided the year into twelve months of twenty-eight days, regulated by the moon. As their year was thus too short for the whole round of the seasons, which depends on the sun, they added an extra month now and then, so as to get level. They lived in houses of sun-dried brick (there is no stone in Mesopotamia), and built a temple of the same material to their

Objects of Early Sumerian art from Kish, about 3,200 B.C.

(*By the courtesy of Professor Langdon*)

god, which is shaped with a tapering tower like a rude sort of church-steeple.[1]



Somewhere about 3000 B. C., Semitic tribes burst in from the Desert and occupied Assyria (north of the plain of Shinar) and Akkad. A long struggle between

[1] Scholars who are at work digging up the old cities in Mesopotamia are still finding out a great deal about the Sumerians, and we may before long be able to know much more about them.

THE MAP. Acknowledgement is again made to Professor Breasted. (See p. xii, n. 1.)

Sumerian and Semite followed. At one time, under Sargon of Akkad (about 2750) the Semites conquered the whole plain. Later, Sumer and Akkad seem to have joined together in a sort of double or 'dual' kingdom under a single king, as Austria-Hungary used to be. For a time (2350–2150) the Elamites came in and seem to have mastered both parties. But new tribes of Semites kept arriving to swell the numbers of the invaders, and at last the Elamites were driven out, the Sumerians finally conquered, and a Semitic Empire was set up, with its centre at Babylon, which now became the chief city of the whole plain.

But the Semites did not destroy what the Sumerians had learnt. They took it over and used it and improved upon it. For centuries they had been fighting with the Sumerians; but they had also been learning from them. They too began to build houses of sun-dried brick, to write cuneiform, to carve stone and make sculptures, and to reckon numbers, measures, and time by the Sumerian tables. In time they taught themselves how to make bronze out of copper and tin. They also mixed the Sumerian religion with their own, and set up a great religion of many gods, large temples, and a rich and powerful priesthood. They began to practise arts of divination, i. e. of pretending to learn the will of the gods by 'omens', such as the flight of birds and sacrifice of animals. They set up schools at their temples. They learnt and developed trade, and Babylon became the great trade-centre of the Near East.

The most famous of Babylonian rulers is Hammurabi (2100 B. C.). He set the laws of the kingdom in order, and had them engraved on a stone pillar. This pillar has been found; and scholars can now read Hammurabi's laws and find out how high an idea of justice (though of course of an early sort) existed in his day. This is the

HAMMURABI'S LAWS. Engraved on a stone pillar

earliest code of laws in the world, of which we know; it is supposed to have had an influence on the laws of the Hebrew people, which are known as the Law of Moses. We have also found fifty-five of Hammurabi's letters, written on clay tablets. These are letters to his officers, and are about such affairs as the care of his flocks, the care of the canals which watered the fields, the duty of collecting the taxes promptly and justly; they show us how busy a ruler of those times could be, and how many matters came under his personal notice.

We saw that the invasion by which the Semites became masters of Assyria and Babylonia began about 3000 B. C., though their final triumph was not gained till about 2100. Somewhere in the same centuries, other Semitic tribes were coming in from the Desert on the western side of the fertile belt, as they had come in on the eastern side. Let us see who they were.

(1) The Phoenicians. These settled down on the Syrian coast, with their chief centres at Tyre and Sidon. In time they became the greatest sailors of the world. They planted colonies all over the western Mediterranean; of these Carthage was the most famous. They even sailed outside the straits of Gibraltar to Spain, France, and Britain, and down the coast of Africa. They thus became a great naval power. But in Asia they tried nothing more than to defend themselves against attack; they never attacked others. Their chief concern was not war but trade. They bought what the East had to sell, and carried it in their ships to the West, and vice versa. Thus they became the 'middle-men' of the early world.

(2) The Aramaeans. Between 3000 and 2500 B. C., Semitic tribes of Aramaeans began to range about the whole edge of the Desert, from the Euphrates to Palestine, forming settlements here and there, as they found

opportunity. Some of these settlements grew powerful in later times; Damascus was and remained the most important of them. At present, however, the Aramaeans were very little advanced beyond the nomad stage.

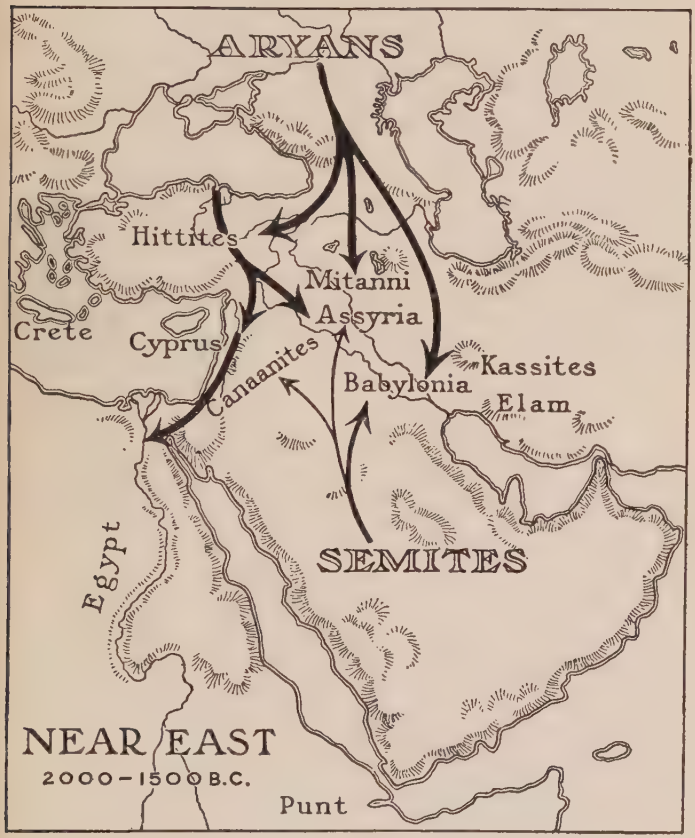
(3) Lastly, perhaps after 2500, there came into Palestine the Canaanites, tribes also of Semitic stock. They settled down in the land, which now can be called

PHOENICIA, THE SEA POWER. A Phoenician Quay

Canaan, and soon began to build hill-towns, to trade with Babylon and Egypt, and to become more civilized. They learnt most of their civilization from Babylon, and used the Babylonian writing. They never, however, managed to unite into a single nation. They lived in little independent city-kingdoms, each under its own king or prince. They were, in a loose sort of way, under Babylonian rule. Indeed, Babylon held a kind of empire over the whole fertile belt as far as the western sea.

So far, then, the peoples of the Desert had had every-

thing their own way in the fertile belt. But by about 2000 B.C., the time came for the peoples of the Mountain to have their turn. Soon after Hammurabi's time the



Babylonian Empire began to weaken. In Asia Minor, Indo-European tribes, called the Hittites, were now joining together into a kingdom. Their power was spreading southward and eastward, and was gradually

cutting off Babylon from Canaan and the West. In 1925 the Hittites even attacked and plundered Babylon. Soon after this, another set of tribes, called the Kassites, came in from the north and set up their rule in Babylon, which lasted for 600 years. These people brought the horse with them, which till then had been an unknown animal to the Babylonians. But, having set up their rule, they seem to have been contented to live henceforth in ease, peace, and laziness. In consequence Babylon grew weaker and weaker. Assyria, which till now had been a kind of subject of Babylon, now began to grow in independence. The Hittites were still increasing in power, and formed an Empire, with its centre at Hatti, east of the river Halys, which by about 1400 became the strongest kingdom in western Asia. A little earlier (about 1500), another small but compact kingdom, called Mitanni, had come into being between the Hittites and the Euphrates; and, although this never grew to first-class rank, it was yet solid enough to maintain itself, and it completed the separation of Babylon from the West.

Thus, during the years 2000–1500 B.C., the Semitic settlers in western Asia were being violently disturbed by the pressure of the mountain tribes, who were flooding into the fertile belt. As a heavy tide will send its waters far up the beach, so this overflow from the North sent the wash of its movement even as far as Egypt. We will now therefore turn our attention to that land, and, after studying its earlier history, we will see what effect these disturbances in Asia produced upon its life.

The Euphrates near Keban Maden

View from the mounds of a Hittite city site (Tell Bashar)

THE NILE. A view in Upper Egypt

Rameses II

II. THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE

The people of the Nile were, so far as we know, the first of mankind to become really civilized. From early times they seem to have had no taste for war and no desire for Empire, and to have given themselves up to learn the arts of peace. Under their sacred rulers they became, by 3400 B.C., a great united nation, the first great nation of which we know. Even before that date they had learnt much; after it, they progressed still more rapidly. Let us see what they had learnt.

The Egyptians were, and have always been, a nation chiefly of peasants. From the earliest times they have grown grain and flax. From the flax they soon learnt to weave linen, and so the art of embroidery became possible. They were dependent for water on the Nile, and dug trenches to regulate its flow into the fields. By at latest 4000 B.C., they had found out the use of copper, and could make copper tools, saws, and implements to cut stone. Thus they had passed from the Stone Age to the Age of Metal. In time they discovered how to mix copper and tin so as to produce bronze.

They traded both by land and by sea. Lying as they did on the edge of the Mediterranean and Red Seas, they soon began to build ships. The first Egyptian picture of a ship comes from 2750 B.C., but they had been seafarers long before that date. These ships they sent out on trading voyages, some to the islands of the

eastern Mediterranean or to Punt at the south end of the Red Sea, to bring goods from those lands, some to the Syrian coast to collect wood from the Lebanon Mountains, which they needed for ship building; for Egypt itself has no timber. They built a canal from the Red Sea westward to the Nile, so that their ships could sail from the Red Sea into the Mediterranean or vice versa. In time they had to build a fleet to protect their trading vessels. Before 2000 B.C. they seem even to have had some control over Crete and the islands of the Aegean Sea.

By land, their caravans of donkeys and camels (they had never yet seen a horse) crossed the deserts into Asia and the Sudan. The wild tribes of the desert might make these journeys dangerous, so the Egyptians had to maintain colonies (for instance, in the region of Sinai) and soldiers to defend their borders against attacks from these tribes, to protect their caravans, and to punish any who disturbed them. We read of an Egyptian expedition by land and sea for this purpose into Palestine as early as 2600 B.C.; while later Egyptian kings, such as Sesostris I and III (about 1950 and 1860), often led expeditions into Canaan, and, in Africa, conquered Nubia as far as the second Cataract, and so added a long stretch of the river Nile to their kingdom.

They made equally rapid progress in the art of writing. By 3500 B.C. they were drawing pictures to express their meaning. They soon then advanced to the use of 'phonetic' signs, i.e. pictures each of which represents one syllable and nothing else. Long before 3000 B.C. they had gone still further and had learnt to use an alphabet of twenty-four signs, where each sign represents one letter or sound. This is the first alphabet of which we know.

Types of Egyptian Nile boats

They soon discovered a more handy material to write upon than the heavy, clumsy, clay tablet. In the marshes of the Nile grows a reed called 'papyrus' (from which our word 'paper' is derived); and the Egyptians found out that by pasting together strips of this leaf, they could procure a good surface to write on. They manufactured a kind of ink by mixing soot with water and

Egyptian writing on papyrus, with a picture of a mummy and a human-headed hawk. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

a little vegetable gum. Thus writing became an easier process. The papyrus could be rolled up into a small space, and so books could be written more easily and stored in large numbers conveniently. In the tombs of the kings and barons of the 'feudal age' (which began after 2500 B.C.) have been found libraries which have preserved to us the oldest stories in the world, the oldest poetry, prayers, and religious plays, the oldest books on medicine and mathematics, the oldest census-lists and tax-registers.

The Egyptians soon became more skilful in measuring time than the Babylonians ever were. They regulated

their year by the sun, and not by the moon. They divided the year into twelve months, each of thirty days, added five feast-days at the end, and so obtained a year of 365 days. This arrangement dates from 4241 B.C., which is the first exactly-dated year in history. The leap-year calculation, however, which was also first made in Egypt, was not made until the age after Alexander the Great.

The art of early Egypt likewise made wonderful strides, and even nowadays we can admire many relics of this early time, and wonder at the skill of these early Egyptians in jewel work and the cutting of stone for seals &c. ('lapidary' work, as it is called), in pottery and the making of glass ware, in the manufacture and decoration of furniture. Their ancient buildings and portrait sculptures are equally remarkable both for size and for skill. The best known of all Egyptian portrait sculptures, the Sphinx, represents the head of Khefre, the Egyptian king who built the second Pyramid of Gizeh, and it is the largest rock-portrait in the world.

The Egyptians worshipped many gods; chief among them were Ra, the sun-god, and Osiris, the god of life, of the life of the earth, which seemed to die every year, and every year was renewed by the Nile. In honour of their gods they built magnificent stone temples, though their own houses, as those in Babylonia, were generally of sun-dried brick. In these temples they erected rows of columns (colonnades), and they were the first to learn how to make round columns, to take the place of the older clumsy square columns.

Chief among their religious beliefs was that in a life after death. They thought that, when we died, we continued to live, and needed our bodies, our servants, and all else that we had needed in this life. Thus they always embalmed dead bodies, so as to preserve them,

and filled the tombs of the dead with furniture and articles of all sorts; in early days a man's servants were killed, when he died, so that they might serve him hereafter. But later they gave up this cruel practice, and placed in the tombs little statuettes to represent the dead man's attendants. In time, too, they came to believe that every dead man would be judged after death by Osiris, and rewarded or punished for his conduct in life.

Among the greatest Egyptian buildings which remain are the burial places of these early centuries; and the Pyramids, which date mostly from 3000–2500 B.C., were built as tombs for the kings. It is hard to believe that these buildings were set up nearly 5000 years ago. The Great Pyramid of King Imhotep at Gizeh (2950 B.C.) covers thirteen acres, is nearly 500 feet high, and contains over two million blocks of limestone granite, each weighing two and a half tons. Egyptian records say that it took 100,000 men twenty years to build it, and we can well believe the statement; and it is only one of a line of pyramids over sixty miles long. This gives us some notion how many must have been the labourers which the kings of that age could command, what power of organization they possessed in order to regulate such an army of workmen, and what control of machinery they must have acquired in order to erect such structures.

The influence of Egyptian civilization spread to both east and west. Her power and wealth and culture had grown amazingly; and, up to 2000 B. C. or a little later, no danger from outside had come to disturb her peace. But, about 1700, as the result of the disturbances in Asia which we heard about in our last chapter, the prosperity of Egypt began to be threatened. At all times the Bedouin of the desert had been straggling into

EGYPT. Column in Osiris temple at Karnak

Egypt, where they would settle or become enslaved. Such, perhaps, was the way in which Abraham, Joseph and Jacob and his sons came into Egypt. But, when the Hittites began to disturb Syria, Asiatic peoples began to pour in a torrent into the land of the Nile. The Egyptians called these invaders the Hyksos, which is supposed to mean 'shepherd-kings'. But, while we are not certain who these Hyksos were, it is most likely that most of them were civilized Canaanites and Syrians, driven south by Hittite attacks; of course bands of tribesmen of the desert may have accompanied the invasion. Egypt was not able to keep them out. The Hyksos set up a kingdom, with its capital at Avaris in the Nile Delta. The Egyptian kings fled south, and kept up a sort of rule in southern Egypt. But the Hyksos practically ruled the whole land; and it was not till 1575 B.C. that Ahmosis, the first king of a new Egyptian dynasty, was able after a long war to expel them and to break their power. Some of them perhaps remained as slaves in Egypt. The rest were driven northwards into Asia and disappear back into the Canaanite and Syrian tribes, from which they had come.

The Hyksos brought with them to Egypt the horse and the war-chariot, and taught Egypt how to wage war on a large scale. When Egypt had driven them out, she seems to have determined to revenge herself. She now becomes for the first time a great military state. The kings of the new dynasty, of whom the most famous are Thutmosis I and III (1540 and 1479 B.C.) were great conquerors. Year after year, they fought their way northwards as far as the Euphrates at Carchemish. They established and maintained Egyptian rule over the whole western half of the fertile belt, while Canaan became an Egyptian province. In the huge temple at Karnak (on the site of the ancient city of Thebes) we can still see the stone carvings which tell the story of

the glory and wealth which thus came to Egypt, and also show how great were the Egyptian sculptors who thus recorded it.

The Egyptian Empire reached its highest point under Amenhotep III (1411 B. C.). But it then began to decay. The reasons for this lay both inside and outside Egypt herself.

(1) The kings who succeeded Thutmosis III were less warlike and preferred to stay at home. The result

was that Egypt was full of discontented soldiers, whose occupation was gone; and the foreign subjects of Egypt were encouraged to revolt, when they no longer had the fear of the Egyptian army to keep them quiet.

Moreover, Amenhotep IV, who became king in 1360, spent his time in trying to introduce religious novelties. He set out to destroy the worship of the old gods, and to set up one worship only, that of the sun-god, whom he called Aton. In honour of Aton he changed his own name to Akhnaton, and built a new town (now called Amarna), for which he forsook the ancient capital of Thebes. His effort is remarkable and interesting, as an attempt to improve religious ideas. But his interest in religious matters caused him to have no time for the affairs of his empire, while it set all the priests and worshippers of the old gods against him. Thus Egypt became disloyal and discontented.

2. Meanwhile the Empire began to be more and more in danger from outside. (*a*) During Akhnaton's reign, the Hittites, who had now learnt to extract iron from their mines near the Black Sea, were continuing to push further south, and occupied all northern Syria. The kings of the new line which succeeded Akhnaton, especially Sethos I (1313) and Rameses II (1292) waged long and desperate wars to drive them back, but they could not expel them, and their efforts exhausted the strength of Egypt. Here then we see the power of the mountaineers weakening the Egyptian Empire in one quarter.

(*b*) A little later, the Hebrews, coming in from the eastern desert, occupied Canaan (about 1200 B.C.). Some of their tribes had been enslaved in Egypt; but these had escaped and now began to settle in the land west of the Jordan. Partly by war, and partly by peaceful methods, they gradually got a hold on the country, conquering or mixing with the Canaanites; and

Three generations of an Egyptian Royal House: AKHNATON (centre), his mother (left) and daughter (right)

though it was long before they became independent, Egypt could no longer hold Canaan as a province.

(*c*) At about the same time, sea and desert combined to make a direct attack on Egypt. Near the end of the thirteenth century, the naval power of the kings of Crete broke up; bands of seafarers from Crete, the islands round, and the coast-lands of Asia Minor, who had now become masterless men, began to raid to south and east. Some came direct to Africa, and joined the Libyan tribes of the desert in attacking the west of the Nile Delta. Others arrived on the coast of Asia, and in large bodies proceeded to work southwards. They weakened and broke up the Hittite Empire on their way, and then raided along the coast until they reached the Egyptian border. These two armies therefore were at work for about fifty years (1225–1175), threatening and harassing northern Egypt. The Egyptian kings were at last able to defeat and break them up. But a section of them, the Philistines, held together and fixed themselves on the coast of Canaan; a pretence of dependence on Egypt was kept up, but it was never much more than a pretence.

Thus Egypt lost her empire in Asia; but, more than that, the struggle had completely exhausted the Egyptian people. In the later stages of the conflict they had been obliged to fill their army with foreign mercenaries. The spirit of Egypt was spent; she went downhill in every way, and for 200 years or more she led a feeble existence in continual disunion and discord, under the rule of two rival lines of kings, one at Thebes and one in the Delta, the one as weak and incapable as the other. It was only when, after this interval, kings of foreign blood, firstly Libyan, and then Ethiopian, seized the throne, that any revival of her life took place.

Ashurbanipal

III. THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

From 1100 B.C. on for 200 years, the peoples living in the fertile belt were without a master and without a danger. Neither in mountain nor in desert did any one stir to attack them. Nowhere was there any great king whose power they need fear. Babylon, though it got rid of its Kassite kings in 1181, continued to be as feeble as Egypt had now become. The Hittite Empire had now broken up. Assyria had looked, between 1250 and 1100, as if it meant to try for an empire; but it then slackened off and lost its energy.

The result was that the small nations of the belt had a free hand to make a bid for power, if they wanted to. The first people to try it were the Hebrews.

After they arrived in Canaan, the Hebrews had had a long fight for independence, especially against the Philistines. But they at last managed to get free, and under David and Solomon they built up a kingdom, which for about 100 years (from 1000 to 900) stretched from the Euphrates to the border of Egypt. But, after Solomon's death, they split up into two kingdoms, Israel in the north and Judah in the south. From that time they were never strong again, and became a second-rate power. Their real greatness was in religion. It was among the Hebrews that men arose, one after another, who thought the highest thoughts about God that the world ever heard before Christ. These men

are called prophets, and their teaching made the Hebrew religion the noblest of the world, until Christ came.

The Hebrews having become weaker, it was now the time of the Aramaeans or Syrians to grow great. These people had built up flourishing settlements north of Palestine at places like Damascus, Hamath, Arpad, &c., and had become the great land-traders of western Asia. They had learnt to use the Phoenician alphabet, and the Egyptian pen and ink, and they had become civilized. They now began to grow powerful also. Damascus especially became the centre of a kingdom which from 900 B.C. on, for fifty years or more, was the strongest power along the western coast, and could call upon its neighbours for help, if ever it was seriously attacked by any power from outside.

But the weakness of Syria was that it could never unite all these neighbours into a single kingdom. Whenever they had the chance, all these kingdoms, Syria, Israel, Judah, the Philistines, Edom, Moab, Ammon, and the rest, would fall to fighting with each other. If ever a great united power came to attack the West, the chances were that these Syrian States would not hold together. Besides, by fighting each other, they had all become weaker.

Now, by about 900 B.C., there was a new power, that of Assyria, ready to make a spring for empire. These Assyrians were Semites, who had come in from the desert about 3000 B.C., and had settled in the country north of Babylonia. Their capital was first of all at Assur, but a later king, Sargon (722), built another city to be the capital, and his successor, Sennacherib (701), finally settled the capital at Nineveh. In early times the Assyrians had generally been under the rule of Babylon or of the Hittites, but as they grew stronger, they became independent, and by 900, they were ready to try for the mastery of all western Asia.

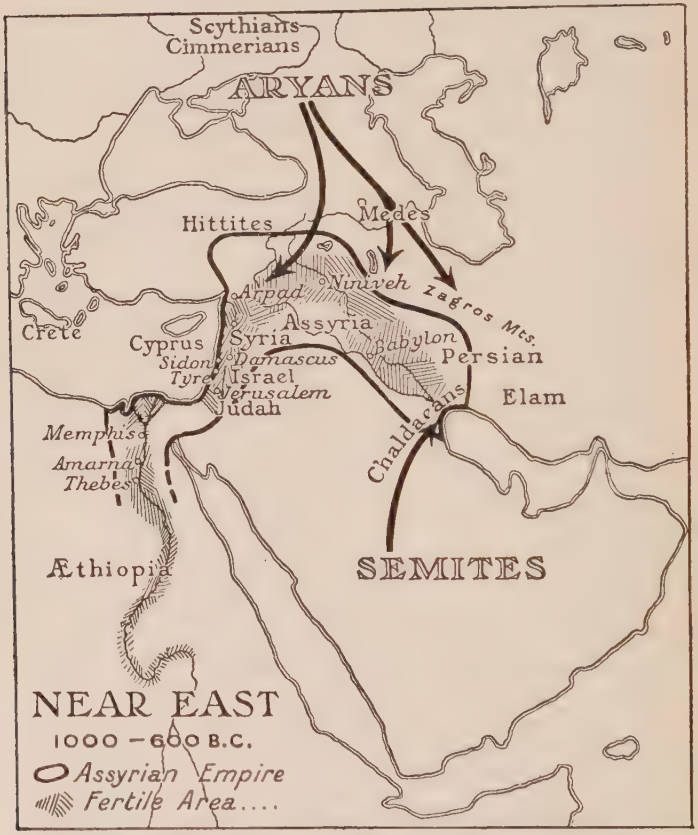
Of what sort were these people? Their chief occupation was tilling the fields. They never became great traders. They learnt most of their civilization from the Sumerians, the Babylonians, the Hittites, the Phoenicians and Egypt. They became great builders of palaces, temples, and cities, and were good at sculpture. They also kept records of their history, and collected clay tablets (the books of that part of the world); 22,000 such tablets were found in the palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh, when scholars began to dig in its ruins.

But the Assyrians were especially soldiers. They had obtained iron from the Hittites and so could make iron weapons. They had cavalry and chariots and machines to besiege towns with. They lived for and by war. Their great kings, Ashurnazirpal, Shalmaneser II and V, Tiglath-Pileser IV, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, were all warriors, who spent most of their time leading their armies to victory and conquest. The Assyrians waged war with a fierce and pitiless cruelty such as the world had never seen. For 250 years their power grew and they were masters of the fertile belt. Their Empire then weakened, and within fifty years it collapsed and was destroyed.

It would take too long to tell in order the story of their wars. We will take them in three divisions.

(1) The Assyrian kings wanted tribute to pay their armies, and so looked south-west for it. They determined to conquer Syria and Palestine, and if necessary, Egypt as well. They began by attacking Damascus. The kings of Damascus called up all their neighbours and for over fifty years (854–800 B.C.) offered a tremendous resistance. But Assyria was too strong for them. The states of Syria gradually grew weaker. In 732 Damascus was conquered and destroyed by the Assyrians. Ten years later the same happened to

Samaria, and the Hebrew Kingdom of Israel came to an end. After 682 the southern Hebrew Kingdom of Judah submitted and became a servant of Assyria. The Assyrian power had thus reached the border of Egypt.



Egypt had felt the danger drawing nearer and had tried to hold it off. Under her kings of Ethiopian blood (727 on) she had always been trying to excite the Hebrews and others to rebel against Assyria, and had

THE MAP. With acknowledgements to Professor Breasted. (See p. xii, n. 1.)

often succeeded. In consequence, the Assyrian kings felt that they would never have peace in the West till Egypt herself was conquered. So in 670 they attacked it. They destroyed the great cities of Memphis and Thebes, and set up Egyptian governors to rule the land as servants of Assyria. But though they had conquered the land, they could not hold it. It was too far off; and, whenever the Assyrian armies had gone home, Egypt rebelled. At last the Assyrians had to give up their attempts, and under Psamatik and Necho II Egypt again became independent.

2) Nearer home the Assyrians were always having trouble with Elam and with Babylon. They invaded Elam several times, and on the last occasion (647) they utterly destroyed the people and burnt Susa, the Elamite capital. With Babylon, however, they were less successful. Babylon was not strong, but yet it was so near to Assyria that it could cause a great deal of trouble if it was disloyal. And somehow, the Assyrians could never make Babylon loyal. They had constantly to conquer and reconquer it. In 689 they entirely destroyed the city and turned the river Euphrates to flow over the place where it had stood. The next king (675), to try and make the Babylonians more friendly, rebuilt the city. But it was of no use. Babylonia remained obstinate in readiness to rebel.

The chief reasons for this obstinacy are perhaps two. (*a*) The Babylonians could never forget that they had once been the head of a great empire, and could not resign themselves to be a mere subject of Assyria. And (*b*) a new set of people, called the Chaldaeans, kept on coming into Babylonia and exciting her to resistance. These Chaldaeans were also Semites from the desert. For hundreds of years they had been spreading all over the districts along the head of the Persian Gulf, the

'sea-lands' as they were called. They kept on moving more and more into Babylonia itself. Gradually, though Assyria often attacked and invaded them, they became the leaders of the Babylonian people. In 626 they set up a king in Babylon, called Nabopolassar, and declared their independence; and, when Nineveh was destroyed in 612, the Chaldaeans were one of the armies which did the work.

3. But the worst danger to Assyria lay in the north. If we look at the map, we can see that Assyria lies about at the north point of the fertile belt. All round her is a semicircle of mountain land. Here the Indo-European tribes of the mountain were once more on the move. Some of them, by about 850 B.C., set up a kingdom called Urartu or Kaldia, round Lake Van, north-west of Assyria, in what is now Armenia. This kingdom was always a troublesome neighbour to Assyria, and was not destroyed until 710 B.C. But worse than this were the wandering hordes which were spreading all over the highlands westward and eastward, and threatening on either side to come south. Of these hordes we can broadly see two main sections.

(*a*) The Cimmerians and Scythians. These were practically savages, wild half-naked warriors, riding wild steeds bare-backed, and armed with huge swords with long and heavy leaf-shaped blades. Wherever they went, they burnt, robbed, and destroyed. They kept the peoples of western Asia in terror for years as they roamed about. Assyria tried to check them; then she tried to engage them as allies. But, whether as enemies or as allies, they did much as they pleased. From about 650 or earlier, they began to come south and ravaged Syria and Palestine, so destroying the western provinces of the Assyrian Empire.

(*b*) To east and north-east of Assyria were a collection

Payment of tribute to Shalmaneser, the Assyrian conqueror, by the Samaritans (top), Egyptians (middle), and Syrian tribes (bottom)

Photograph Mansell

of tribes, among whom the chief were the Medes and the Persians. They had already reached some degree of civilization. In particular they already possessed a high form of religion. About 1000 B. C. a man called Zoroaster had taught them to see that all life was a struggle between good and evil. This struggle, he said, is due to a great endless war going on between a god called Ahuramazda, with his angels, and an evil spirit, called Ahriman, with his evil angels. This noble belief had become the chief religion of the Medes and Persians before 700 B. C.

These tribes were living in the highlands to the east and north-east of Assyria and Babylonia. They were beginning to collect into a sort of union of tribes, and were gradually spreading south-westward and westward. Many Assyrian kings tried to check their advance. But they could only succeed in delaying it. On these tribes came. They crossed the Zagros mountains, east of Assyria, they flooded into Elam, which, as we saw, Assyria had made an empty land by her destruction of the Elamites. By 647 the Medes were near enough and strong enough to attack Nineveh. They were beaten back, but still grew and grew more threatening. At last, under their King Cyaxares, they again attacked and besieged Nineveh in 614, and in 612, with the help of Chaldaean and Scythian armies, they captured and entirely destroyed it.

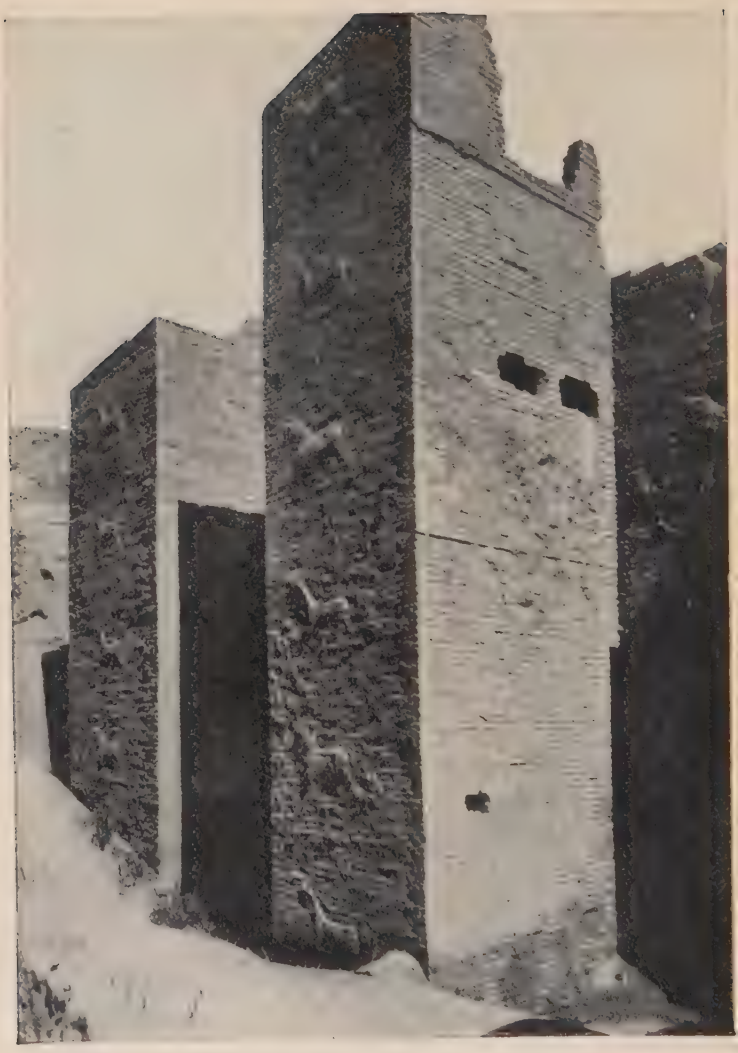
With the fall of Nineveh, the Assyrian Empire came to an end, and we can see why it perished. (1) The Empire was far too big. Assyria was not strong enough to hold it all. The Assyrian kings were great conquerors; but they did not know how to settle their empire in such a way that it should become united and loyal. Their subjects were always ready to rebel, and Assyria had to spend a great

deal of her strength in continually crushing these rebellions.

(2) Assyria was always at war, and in those wars, though she nearly always won, her own people were little by little destroyed. Towards the end of her time, there can have been very few real Assyrians left, and she had to fill her armies with men of other nations. Besides this, since she was always fighting, her people had no time to look after their fields, to trade, or to carry on the affairs which make a nation rich and strong, and which she can only carry on, if she has periods of peace in which to think of them.

(3) In all probability Assyria could never have kept the northern hordes out for ever. They were too strong and too numerous. But, if she had not tried to hold such a big empire, if she had not wasted all her strength in war, Assyria might have delayed them and let them come in little by little, accepting them as subjects or allies. As it was, her power collapsed before them like a house of cards, and the Assyrian people practically vanish entirely from the world.

The whole of Asia was wild with joy when Nineveh fell. Read the words of the prophet Nahum (e.g. chapter iii, verse seven and following) or of Zephaniah (chapter ii, verse thirteen and following) ; all Asia would have echoed them. Assyria ended at last without having given the world anything which might make it regret her. To the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Phoenicians, the Aramaeans, the Hebrews, the world owes something and to some of them it owes very much. But Assyria has taught us practically nothing. Her history and her fate are nothing but a splendid example that they who take the sword shall perish with the sword, and that an empire which has become great only by war will in the end die by war and leave nothing useful behind.



THE ISHTAR GATE, BABYLON, built by Nebuchadnezzar (from Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, 3rd edition, 1914 Leipzig: C. J. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung)

Darius the Great[1]

IV. THE CHALDAEAN AND PERSIAN EMPIRES

Assyria had fallen. Who was to inherit her possessions? First of all, Egypt thought she might try to take a share of them. In 604 an Egyptian army under Necho advanced northwards as far as the Euphrates. But there at Carchemish it was met and defeated by the Chaldaeans under Nebuchadnezzar, and driven in headlong flight back into Egypt. The Egyptians had no courage to make any further attempt.

Thus the Assyrian Empire fell to be divided between the two powers who had had the chief hand in destroying it, namely the Medes and the Chaldaeans. The Medes took Assyria and most of northern Asia as far as the river Halys, which was the eastern boundary of the kingdom of Lydia; whilst their cousins, the Persians, became lords of Elam. The Chaldaeans took Babylonia and all the western provinces of Assyria and set up under Nebuchadnezzar an empire, which lasted for about 50 years. He soon reduced the western provinces to order. Judah was still inclined to give trouble, so he determined to finish with it once and for all. In 586 he captured Jerusalem, burnt it, and carried a large part of the Jewish people into captivity in Babylonia.

[1] By the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Nebuchadnezzar was a very great king. Though he often led armies, he was chiefly interested in the arts of peace. Under his rule the city of Babylon was enlarged and beautified with splendid palaces and temples, and was surrounded with great walls and gateways. On the roof of his palace the king laid out wonderful gardens, rising terrace above terrace, which the Greeks called the Hanging Gardens of Babylon and counted as one of the seven Wonders of the World. Trade and business, the arts and crafts, flourished. Books and records of all sorts were collected or written. In the study of the stars, especially (the science of astronomy), the Chaldaeans made great progress. Of course no one had yet discovered that the planets went round the sun; but the Chaldaeans mapped out the sky and stars for the first time, and observed their movements well enough to be able to foretell an eclipse.

Nebuchadnezzar's Empire, then, was a fine and flourishing one. But as soon as he died (562) it began to fall to pieces. We do not know much of the Babylonian history of the next few years, but it seems likely that all sorts of conspiracies must have been set on foot, for, of the next three kings, two were murdered, and one died after reigning only four years. The last king of Chaldaea, called Nabonidus, left his work to be done by his son Belshazzar, while he spent his time in reading books and studying the old religions. Thus the kingdom began to decay from inside.

Meanwhile the other Empire, that of the Medes, had also had its troubles. The Persians, who up to now had been less important than the Medes, had been growing in power. In 553 Cyrus, king of a Persian district called Anshan, in Elam, became strong enough to depose the Median king, and to become king of the united Medes and Persians. Cyrus was a very great

man, and quickly increased his Empire. He at once conquered the districts lying west of the old land of Assyria. In 545 he crossed the river Halys into Lydia, defeated its king Croesus, captured the capital Sardis, and added the whole country to his own kingdom. He then went on, and at his leisure captured the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor, and so became master of northern Asia from Elam to the Aegean Sea.

He then turned against Babylon, and in 538 he entered it as conqueror. The Chaldaean Empire, the last great Semitic Empire of the early East, thus came to an end. In the struggle between Mountain and Desert, which had been going on for thousands of years, the Mountain had at last won. The Indo-European had conquered the Semite.

Cyrus now ruled as Persian king over an Empire stretching from near India to the coast of Asia Minor

and the border of Egypt. In 536 he restored the Jews to their own country; but they were only a small people now, and could give him no trouble. In 529 his son Cambyses went further and attacked Egypt itself. Egypt had been growing stronger and more prosperous, and had begun to have a fleet again; but she could not stand against the Persian army. Cambyses conquered the country, and had himself crowned as King of Egypt. The Persian Empire was now the largest Empire that the world had ever seen.

The Persians were a very fine people. Their soldiers at this time, especially their archers and their cavalry, were the best in the world. They learnt much from the nations whom they conquered. From Babylon and Assyria they learnt how to build great buildings and to make wonderful sculptures and to lay out terraced gardens. From Egypt they learnt to build colonnades (rows of columns) and to decorate the walls of their buildings with enamelled brick. They made their cities very beautiful. Susa was their capital, but their kings also lived at Babylon, and they built new cities like Pasargadae and Persepolis in Elam. The Aramaean language was mostly spoken all over the Empire, though the Persians also used their own old Persian tongue.

But the chief glory of the Persians is that they tried to govern their provinces properly, and did not, as the Assyrians had done, merely hold them by military force. Darius, who succeeded Cambyses in 522, divided his whole Empire into twenty provinces, which he called 'satrapies', each under its own governor or satrap. The various nations living in these provinces were justly treated, and, so long as they paid their tribute regularly and supplied their appointed number of soldiers for the Persian army, the Persian governors allowed them a good deal of freedom. The Persians built great roads

A PERSIAN TOWNSHIP TO-DAY. (*R. Gorbold*)

through their Empires, and had a regular system of messengers from the king's court to the provinces and back. Beyond that, the king felt that he needed a fleet to defend his coasts, and so he formed one of Egyptian and Phoenician ships and sailors (for the Phoenicians, though not actually conquered, were friendly allies of the Persian king). Thus for the first time, a great Asiatic Empire was also a great sea-power in the Mediterranean.

All this was wonderfully well arranged and thought out. But of course it was a 'one-man' Empire. Everything depended on the king. If the king was a really great ruler all would go well. But if he was lazy or stupid, the Empire would be bound to become weaker. And, after the death of Darius in 485, the Persian kings who followed were nearly all quite incapable. The result was that the Persian soldiers gradually became lazy, and their generals useless; the provinces often rebelled, and the satraps were often disloyal. The Persian Empire decayed. It did not break up, only because there was nobody ready yet to break it up. The peoples of the Near East were worn out, and Asia was waiting for a new master. Who that master would be was not yet certain, but it was likely that he would come from the West. The peoples of Desert and Mountain had disputed with each other for the rule of the Near East during 2,500 years. But the time had now come for the peoples of the Sea to take a hand in the dispute.

When Cyrus attacked the Greek cities of Asia Minor, he came into touch with a European people. For the first time a European and an Asiatic power met face to face. In the next chapter you will have to go back and find out what was the earlier history of the Greek people; and then you will go on and hear how the struggle between Europe and Asia went on. But a few

more words may be added here, so that you may have a clear idea from the start how all this ancient history connects up with the history of Greece and Rome.

The Greeks of Greece proper (Hellas) were never strong enough or united enough to do Persia any serious damage. They were able, as you will hear, to prevent Persia from coming any farther west or becoming master of the Aegean Sea; but they could not really hurt Persia enough to weaken its power. But when Alexander became king of Macedonia, in northern Greece (336), and took over the leadership of all the Greek peoples, there was at last a western power strong enough by land and by sea to cross over into Asia and to attack Persia at its heart. When this happened, the Persian Empire fell into his lap like an overripe fruit. Alexander died in 322. After his death his kingdom was divided up between his generals; three kingdoms were set up, Macedonia, Egypt, and Syria. These fought with each other, and so gradually weakened each other. Then at last the Romans, who all this time had been growing stronger and greater, came on the scene, and proceeded to conquer the Greek and Eastern world step by step. So Persia was the last great Asiatic Empire of this early world. From henceforth the future lay in the hands of European peoples.

ATHENS and the ACROPOLIS

CRETE. Offerings to the sacred double-axe

PART II. GREECE

I. THE BEGINNINGS OF GREECE

WESTERN literature, western art, western thought altogether, are based on the literature, the art, the thought of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Of the other great old civilizations—for example, the Chinese—which flourished at the same time as the Greeks and the Romans, and even before their day, western peoples have known little until recent times. But the patterns of the Greeks and Romans run through all western life.

When the western world was overrun by the northern tribes—the Goths, the Vandals, the Huns—civilization went back. Its first great recovery came with the new discovery of Greek and Roman learning—a discovery truly described as a Renaissance or re-birth.

In this the greater part belongs to the Greeks. In many things, what the Romans did was learned from them. Their art, their religion, their government, their philosophy were based on Greek models. They gave something of their own too, especially in the making of laws; for their character, the way in which they looked out upon life, was quite different from that of the Greeks; but they start from Greece.

At a time when the rest of Europe was the home of wandering tribes, whose way of life was rude and barbarous, the people who dwelt in the lands round the

THE THRONE-ROOM OF THE KINGS OF CRETE

Aegean Sea were living a life in nearly all ways as civilized as that of our own day. None of the Greek writings we have tell us anything about this early time. The Greeks of history knew nothing of it. But we can now guess what it was like from the wonderful remains that have been found by scholars who have dug beneath the ruins of ancient cities and palaces. They have found the remains of a civilization which is at least a thousand years older than the oldest Greek book we have, the poems of Homer. Beautiful pottery, fine stone buildings, furniture, vessels of every kind, tools, weapons and ornaments made in stone, clay, and bronze have been found in Mycenae, Tiryns, Crete, and elsewhere. All these things date from a time when the later Greeks believed that their fathers had been barbarians.

At this time the dwellers on the mainland and the islands must have sailed across the sea and traded with different countries. Under the ruins of Hissarlik, on the spot where the city of Troy, described by Homer, stood, no fewer than six cities have been found, one built on the ruins of the other. In one of them was unearthed a bit of white jade. This stone was unknown in Greece. It could only have come from distant China.

The reason why the Greeks themselves knew nothing of this early age of their civilization, and why we have only learned about it in recent years, is that it was swept away. After flourishing for hundreds of years it was destroyed by tribes who came down from the north, conquered the early peoples, and settled among them as their rulers. No one can yet say certainly when the conquerors first came, or how often they came. Probably they came again and again, one band after another, throughout a long time. Later invaders found earlier ones settled in the land. There was incessant fighting. Art disappeared.

The oldest Greek book is the lays of Homer. This describes Greece as ruled over by mighty warrior chiefs. They were fair-haired, blue-eyed men, who dwelt in strong walled castles and found their joy in fighting and feasting. They warred at home, among themselves. They also sailed across the seas in small ships, manned by rows of oarsmen, and attacked the castles of others. Thus Homer describes how the greatest chieftains in Greece sailed across the sea to Troy to bring back Helen. Helen was a princess of Sparta, and the loveliest woman in all the world. She had been snatched from her lord by the son of Priam, Prince of Troy. For her sake there was a long war between the Greeks and Trojans. The Greeks were victorious. They sacked the splendid city of Troy. But few of them came home again.

All these warrior chiefs, Greek and Trojan too, worshipped gods and goddesses like themselves: tall and stately beings with splendid limbs and flashing eyes, for ever young and fair. These immortal creatures joyed in battle, and themselves fought in the ranks of the heroes. They gave honour and renown to the dauntless in fight and the wise in counsel. All the gods and goddesses had some special gifts of their own, which they could give to men. Ares was the god of fierce courage in battle: Athene gave wisdom and calm bravery: Apollo loved those who were distinguished in beauty or in the arts: Hermes watched over the traveller and the merchant: Aphrodite cared for lovers. But above them all was their father and the father of all mankind—Zeus, the ruler of the heavens. All the Greeks everywhere, whether they dwelt on the mainland, on the islands, or in the towns along the coast of Asia Minor and along the Hellespont, worshipped these gods. This common worship bound them all together. They were Hellenes, children of Zeus: one people against all the other peoples of their world.

APOLLO on his tripod flying over the sea from Delphi to Delos (Vase)

DELOS. The sacred lake with its nine guardian Lions. Here Apollo was born

GAMES. The Stadium at Delphi. The pillar marks the starting-point

STADIUM at Athens as now restored

At Delphi Apollo had a temple to which Greeks came from all parts of the world. Apollo was the god who knew the future. His priestess answered questions, often in very riddling fashion. Men believed that what she told them would come to pass. Delphi, the home of Apollo, was a spot which every Greek regarded as holy. Yet, although their common worship gave the Greeks a kind of unity, they never at any time became one people. This is one of the things that strikes us as strange about the Greeks, when we compare Greek history with that of the other great ancient states or with modern kingdoms. The millions who dwelt in China were ruled by one emperor. All the different peoples of the Nearer East were ruled by one great king, with many governors under him. Rome made all Italy one nation. Greece never had a single ruler. Even the little islands and the solitary cities that grew up along the coasts of Asia Minor, the Black Sea, and Southern Italy stood alone. Those that were peopled by men who had come from the bigger cities of the mainland felt a kind of tie that bound them to the mother city; but often this tie was not very strong. On the mainland, from the beginning down to the end, there were separate states: states that never lost their feeling of separateness.

The explanation of this lies partly in the geography of the land they lived in. To understand Greek history one must know the shape and surface of the Greek world.

The coast of Greece is deeply indented. Wide bays divide the land naturally. The Corinthian Gulf cuts the Peloponnese off from the rest of Greece, the Saronic Gulf divides Attica from Argolis. Moreover, Greece is a rugged and mountainous country. The mountains cut the land into separate enclosed plains or plateaux. A chain of high hills, running from north to south, divide the Peloponnese: hills close Laconia in and mark

it off. The heights of Cithaeron bar the way between Attica and Boeotia, and between Boeotia and the Megarid. Mountains bar the north. There is no way into Greece from Thessaly save at the narrow pass of Thermopylae. Farther north, between Thessaly and Macedon, there lie range upon range of heights. On one of these cloud-capped masses, called Olympus, the gods were supposed to have their earthly abode.

A country so rugged was not naturally rich. Greece was and is a poor country. A large part of the soil is high, dry, and rocky. On the plains the soil is thin. The Greek farmer had to work very hard for his crops—corn, wine, and olives. There were stretches of copse-wood, but no forests except in Macedonia. On corn, wine, and olives the Greeks mainly lived. They ate fish, but hardly any meat.

The poverty of the land drove the Greeks to sea. They sailed partly for trade, partly in search of new homes for the men who could not make a living by farming at home.

The great colonists were the Dorians from the south and the Ionians on the islands. They founded new cities all along the northern coasts: in Italy and in Sicily. These settlers always took with them fire from the hearth of the patron god or goddess of the mother city.

From all the settlements men gathered to the great games in Greece. These games were the Olympian, held at Elis every fourth year; the Pythian games (sacred to Apollo); the Isthmian (specially in honour of Zeus); and the Nemean (in honour of Poseidon). The Olympian games, the greatest of the four, were held in the sacred grove of Olympia, between the rivers Cladeus and Alpheus, beneath the wooded hill of Cronus. This grove was dedicated to the worship of Zeus. There, every fourth year, magnificent sports were held. A

wreath of wild olive was given as a prize to the victors in the foot-race, in boxing, wrestling, chariot-racing, and horse-racing. The Greeks believed that the hero Heracles had founded the games.

The victor in the great games was honoured throughout Greece. One of the greatest of Greek poets, Pindar, wrote his glorious odes in honour of different athletes who won the wreath of wild olive.

Greece grew partly by war, but much more by trade. In the earliest years the vessels that plied across the Aegean from the mainland to the islands, carrying goods of various kinds, were not Greek. They belonged to another race, from whom the Greeks learned much, the Phoenicians. The home of these people—so called by the Greeks because of their darker skin—was in Tyre and Sidon, rich cities on the coast of Syria. They sent out trading vessels to all the different quarters of the world. While the Greeks were still home-keeping farmers, living poorly on their land, rude people with little art or knowledge beyond that of war and husbandry, the Phoenicians were highly civilized, like the people of Egypt. They had discovered the art of writing: they had an alphabet. They were skilled workers in metals. They knew how to dye woollen stuffs in rich hues. They used weights and measures and some rude sort of money.

From the very first, however, the Greeks must have been marvellously quick to learn. They looked at life with widely open eyes, they were keenly curious, they learned much from the Phoenician traders. Through their out-settlements they learned from the peoples of the East: from Egypt, from Lydia, from Phrygia. It was from Lydia that the first coined money came to Greece, and it brought great changes with it.

TIRYNS, the massive fortress.
A passage in the thickness of the walls.

II. ATHENS AND SPARTA (DOWN TO 500 B. C.)

In later times the Greeks came to believe that the outstanding fact in the early history of their country was the conflict between two great races in it, the Dorians and the Ionians. They told many beautiful legends of their coming to Greece and their warfare.

The Dorians inhabited the Peloponnesus. Their chief cities were Corinth, Megara, Sicyon, Sparta, Argos, and the other cities of Argolis. Argos was the head of a Dorian league. In the days of which Homer gives us a picture, the cities of Argolis seem to have been the greatest and wealthiest in Greece. Golden Mycenae and Tiryns, with walls so massive that they were believed to be the handiwork not of men but of gods, were the seats of mighty rulers when nothing was known of the other parts of Greece. But the greatness of Argos began to wane soon after Pheidon, an Argive king, restored the Olympic games.

Another Dorian power, stronger than Argos, rose in the south. This was Sparta.

The rise of Sparta dates from the time when the rule of the unwalled city spread from the surrounding plains of Laconia, across the mountains of Taygetus, to Messenia. After the conquest of Messenia Sparta was the first power in Greece. For long the Spartan princes cast hungry eyes on Messenia. The soil of the land was rich, richer than Laconia. The people were hardy farmers, of the same race as the Laconians. At last, Sparta

attacked and conquered the land. The conquered people lost all their rights and all their wealth. They had to serve their conquerors almost as slaves. For long they bore it. Then suddenly a fierce revolt broke out. Argos and Arcadia sent help to the Messenian rebels. The Spartans were hard pressed. They were defeated in a battle. Messenia seemed to be lost. Then a new leader arose. This was the lame poet, Tyrtaeus. His stirring songs filled the Spartans with new courage. Messenia was conquered and finally made part of Laconia.

Sparta remained more like the city states described by Homer than was any other part of Greece. The Spartans themselves believed that their form of government, their laws, and all the arrangements of their lives had never been altered since the earliest times. They were always eager to show that as Sparta was now, thus she had ever been. They believed that a great lawgiver, named Lycurgus, had invented the form of their state. He had drawn up rules of daily life for all its citizens, and these rules, fixed once, had never since been changed.

Sparta was a purely warlike state. The two kings were generals of the army; every citizen was a soldier. The boys were taken from their mothers at a tender age and brought up by men, in barracks, where they were trained in all the arts of war. Even when the young men grew up and married, they did not live at home. All full citizens dined together, each paying so much towards the common meal.

Duty to the state came before everything. Discipline was the Spartan law of life. Even the women took part in gymnastic exercises, and they were valued only as the mothers of soldiers.

In the Laconian state, of which the city of Sparta was the head, the true Spartans, those who were citizens,

A CONTRAST : Athenian girls with lyres ; a Spartan girl running

Where ancient SPARTA stood

ATHENS. The Parthenon, the great fifth-century temple of Athena on the Acropolis

were but few. Only Spartans could own land, only Spartans dined at the common mess. Spartans formed the flower of the army. But all the work was done by those Laconians who were not citizens, or by slaves, called helots. Many of the helots were conquered Messenians. The helots were hardly used and always discontented, and thus they were a real danger to the state.

The other states of the Peloponnese—Elis, Arcadia, and Achaea—together with the states north of the Isthmus, except Attica, that is to say, Locris, Phocis, and Boeotia, belonged to the Aeolic race.

The Ionian peoples dwelt in Attica, in Euboea, in the Thracian Chersonese, on the islands, and along the coasts of Asia. The story about the Dorians and Ionians probably arose because of the great difference between the people dwelling in Attica, and especially in Athens, and the Peloponnesians. The Athenians believed that men of their race had always dwelt in Attica from the beginning of time. The rest of Greece, they thought, had been conquered and the conquerors now dwelt in the land. The Attic race, on the other hand, had sprung from the very soil in which it now dwelt. Nothing certain is known of the years when there were a number of separate kingdoms in Attica, each ruled by its own separate prince. We do not know how it came to pass that one city—Athens—came to rule over the whole land as Sparta over Laconia.

Athens stands up from her rock in the midst of a plain girt by hills, and watered by the river Cephissus. Round the Acropolis or citadel two smaller streams flow, the Ilissus and the Eridanus. On the west Mount Aegaleos rises, on the east Mount Hymettus. The north-east is blocked by the gabled mass of Mount Pentelicus. Five miles away was the harbour (Piraeus) and the sea.

The Athenians believed that their city was the chosen home of Athene, the grey-eyed goddess of wisdom. There was a legend which told how she and Poseidon, the god of the sea, had contended together for the honour of being the especial patron of the city. Each had offered priceless gifts to the people. Poseidon smote the rock with his trident and a horse sprang forth. Then Athene touched the earth with her lance and there appeared a plant hitherto unknown in Greece, a spray of that grey-green olive tree that grew to be the divine glory and crown of bright Athens. So Athene was acclaimed chief guardian of the land and her temple crowned the hill. The olive which grew all over Attic soil became the chief source of Athenian wealth. Her merchants carried the oil far and near and brought back other goods to the city. As the sea traffic grew, Athens built ships of her own.

While kings still ruled in most of the cities of the mainland, Athens was governed by nobles. They were chosen first on account of their high birth: because they were descended from heroes. All the inhabitants were divided into four tribes. Within these tribes were clans to which the noble families belonged. Each family believed that all its members were sprung from one common ancestor; generally a hero or demi-god. The assembly and the nobles was called the Areopagus. It judged all cases of life and death.

But gradually the power of men of birth grew somewhat less. Hitherto the strength of Greek armies had lain in their cavalry. Only a man of some wealth could afford to equip himself with horse and armour. Thus the soldiers were men of wealth. In the Messenian war, however, it was found that very good service was done by foot-soldiers, clad in mail and armed with long lances. Men so accoutred were called hoplites.

Marching in close array these hoplites could make a wellnigh irresistible charge. Soon hoplites were equipped by all the cities, and a much poorer man could serve as a hoplite. The strength of the city was no longer in its nobles and rich men, but in the whole body of citizens who could serve as soldiers.

Meantime many of the cities were governed by tyrants, men who knew no law but their own will. Tyrants ruled in Megara, in Sicyon and in Corinth. Some of them were wise and enlightened men who enriched and beautified their cities; but in Athens the idea of a tyrant was hated, though even then there were some who thought differently.

Among them was Cylon, a noble whose wife was 632
daughter to the tyrant of Megara. Cylon seized the Acropolis with a body of Megarian soldiers. A number of noble youths of his own rank and age supported him: but not the people. The council called out the husbandmen who were working in the fields. They blockaded the conspirators in the citadel, until, hard pressed, they at last took refuge in Athene's temple. There they remained until the officers of the state (called archons) promised to spare their lives. Megacles, one of the noble family of the Alcmaeonidae, persuaded the other archons to break their word and put the conspirators to death. Afterwards, however, it was felt that this was a crime. It was an offence to the goddess, moreover, to have slain men who were suppliants in her temple. The whole family of the Alcmaeonidae were sent into perpetual exile, and their property taken from them.

Cylon's plot led to war with Megara. This war caused much distress in Athens. The fields were ravaged by the soldiery. Trade also suffered, for Megarians would not buy Athenian oil. The peasants and farmers in the country, the small tradesmen and workers in the towns,

fell more and more deeply into debt. From debt they fell into slavery. The many poor grew poorer. The few rich grew richer. Things were made worse by the fact that there were no written laws.

621 Unhappily, when Dracon was appointed to write down the laws, his code, as it was called, was so harsh and cruel that men said it was written not in ink but blood. When any one could not pay a debt, the man to whom he owed money could seize his person and sell him as a slave. The sufferings of the people were so great that many feared a general rising.

594 At last a truly wise man came forward and saved the state. This was Solon, a wealthy merchant, who belonged to one of the oldest families in the land. He had travelled far and wide. He was a philosopher and also a poet.

Solon's first act was to decree a 'shaking off of burdens'. All those who had been imprisoned or enslaved for debt were set free. In future no man was to be made a slave for debt. Solon also improved the coinage and set up a better scale of weights and measures. He did more than this; he reformed the whole government of the state. He gave all the different classes of the people a voice in the affairs of the state. After this each class took part in the meetings of the assembly, which thus spoke with the voice of the whole people. Moreover, men of every class had the right to serve as jurymen in the courts of justice.

Solon's first measure restored content at home. His second was the beginning of full freedom at Athens.

Although Attica was a poor country, Athenian trade was growing, and would one day make the city rich. Close by, however, Athens had a rival: Megara. Between Athens and Megara lay an island which the Athenians saw every day from their hill: the island of Salamis.

Solon persuaded his countrymen to send an expedition to conquer Salamis. It went out, under the leadership of Solon's friend, Pisistratus. Salamis was captured, and thenceforth belonged to Athens.

Pisistratus was the hero of the hour. He gathered 570
a party round him, seized the Acropolis, and made himself tyrant in Athens. For four years he ruled, and then was driven out. After a brief exile he returned. Once more he was expelled, this time for ten years. At the end of the ten years, however, he came back with an army. This time, having won his power he kept it till his death. 539–527

To the Athenians the very name of tyrant became hateful. They loved freedom above everything and believed greatly in law, for they early saw that it is in obedience to law that true freedom is to be found. Yet in many ways Pisistratus ruled well, and Athens flourished under him. He was very wealthy. Part of his wealth came from the lands belonging to men who had fled or been exiled when he returned to power. Part of it came from the silver mines at Laurion, which began to be worked at this time. The lands were divided and given to the poorer peasants. Pisistratus improved agriculture. The olive was planted all over the land. He also encouraged people to go out and settle on both shores of the Hellespont. It was about this period that Miltiades, a noble Athenian exile, conquered the Thracian Chersonese. 559

Under Pisistratus Athens rose to a new and more important position in the Greek world. Pisistratus spent large sums in making the city beautiful. Near the Erechtheum, the oldest home of Athene on the Acropolis, stood another temple to the goddess. Round it Pisistratus built a magnificent colonnade, with pillars in the Doric style, so vast that it was called the House with a Hundred Feet (Hecatompedon). It was adorned with gables, carved in marble. At the foot of the

Acropolis Pisistratus built a new house for the god Dionysus, and here the festival of the Dionysia was held, which soon became one of the most important days in Athenian life. It was at this festival that plays were first performed.

Another festival which Pisistratus established was that called the Pan-Athenaic: the festival of all the Athenians. It was on this day that the great procession wound up to the temple of Athene, carrying as an offering to the goddess a robe woven by the hands of Athenian maidens. Here, too, the poems of Homer were recited aloud. Pisistratus had them written down, both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Poets and artists gathered at his court, and at the court of his sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, who followed after him.

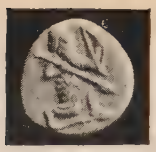
Pisistratus had ruled wisely and well. Hippias was frightened by a conspiracy, soon after his father's death, in which his brother Hipparchus was slain. After this he became stern and harsh. Outside Athens a party was gathering which sought to free the city from the tyrants. It was headed by the great Alcmaeonid family. They had powerful friends at Delphi, and also hoped for help from Sparta. The Alcmaeonidae had
548 rebuilt the temple of Delphi at their own expense, after it had been burned down. Therefore, whenever the Spartans sent to Delphi, the oracle always replied: 'First free Athens.'

A Spartan expedition marched against Hippias without success. A second, under King Cleomenes, was successful.
510 The tyrant was driven out and fled to Persia. The Alcmaeonidae and all the other exiles returned to Athens. Among them was Cleisthenes. Cleisthenes was a man of high character and great sagacity. He did nothing to gain power for himself, although it would have been

easy for him to do so. Instead, he completed the work 508
of Solon and made Athens more free than ever.

In return for Spartan help, Athens had to join the league of Peloponnesian states, of which Sparta was the head. Sparta had defeated Argos and conquered Arcadia. She was by far the strongest state in Greece.

Athenians at play



Darius

III. THE WAR WITH PERSIA (499–479)

Sparta, Athens, and the other parts of Greece were at this time tiny states, poor in land and in money. They had little to do with the affairs of the greater world beyond Greece, and knew hardly anything of them, save through their merchants and the people of the out-settlements in the islands and on the coasts of Asia Minor.

While the people of Greece were gradually learning that the way to live in freedom was to devise laws which all willingly obeyed, in the East millions of men lived in slavery, with no law but the will of some despotic prince. These people enjoyed a wealth and luxury which the simple Greeks could hardly even picture to themselves. Croesus, the lord of Lydia, was called the 'golden' because of his boundless riches. His power spread over all the rich Lydian lands, and soon he made himself master of the Aeolian and Ionian cities along the coasts. He conquered the Greek cities: but he saw much in their ways of life and thought that he admired. He even wished the Greeks to think of him as a Greek. When the Greeks of Ephesus built a great temple to the goddess Artemis, Croesus gave some sculptured reliefs, of which fragments remain to this day. He also gave golden offerings to Apollo's oracle at Delphi. When he was preparing a great expedition against Media, he sent ambassadors to Sparta to ask the Spartans' help. The Spartans refused. Croesus was utterly defeated by Cyrus, lord of Media. As he stood on the pyre where Cyrus set him to be burned, the 'golden

[1] The coin of Persia above shows King Darius with bow and spear.

lord' remembered the words which Solon, the Athenian philosopher, had spoken: 'Count no man happy till he is dead.'

Cyrus, who conquered Croesus, also conquered the Ionian and other Greek settlements. He was lord of the vast Assyrian Empire, which was spread from Lydia to the lands beyond the Tigris and Euphrates, utterly unknown to the Greeks. From the coast it was a journey of many months to reach Susa, the capital. The immense country was divided up among different governors called satraps. Darius, who ruled after Cyrus, added Thrace to his mighty empire. Thrace was the northern gate to Greece, and danger threatened all the Greek states, although they knew it not.

During the next twelve years there was peace. Meantime revolt against their Assyrian overlord began to stir in the Ionian cities. When Hippias, the tyrant of Athens, was banished he fled to Sardis and tried to persuade Artaphernes, the satrap there, to help him back to his throne. In Miletus revolt broke out: and Aristagoras, lord of Miletus, asked Athens and Sparta to help the Greek states of Asia Minor to free themselves. Athens sent twenty ships. Aristagoras seized Sardis, and burned it to the ground.

When Darius heard the news he ordered one of his slaves to say to him every night at dinner, 'Sire, remember the Athenians.'

Meantime the revolt had come to an end. The Ionians were defeated in a naval battle off Lade: Miletus was 494
taken. The revolt accomplished little, but its consequences had far-reaching effects on the history of the world.

Darius was resolved to punish Athens. Hippias was at the court of Susa, and he kept the king's anger alive. Two years after the battle of Lade an expedition was

POWELL LIBRARY
SANTA CLARITA, CA 91321

sent to conquer Macedonia and resettle Thrace. Macedonia and Thrace were subdued, but the fleet, which was to have sailed south to punish Athens, was wrecked by a storm off Mount Athos.

Darius then resolved on a different plan. Heralds were sent to all the cities of the Greek mainland. They demanded earth and water as signs that the cities submitted to the 'Great King', for so Darius, who ruled over all the East, from Egypt to farthest Persia, was called. Most of the cities, among them Aegina, the enemy of Athens, gave earth and water. At Athens the herald was dismissed with scorn. At Sparta the kings threw him into a well, to get earth and water for himself. Brave words: but the little states might well tremble as they thought of the mighty power coming against them.

Under Datis and Artaphernes a fleet of 600 galleys sailed across the Aegean; on the way the Cyclad islands
490 were subdued. Then they descended upon the hapless city of Eretria. It was burned to the ground and the inhabitants enslaved. When the news came to the Athenians they at once prepared to fight. The same fate, they knew, awaited them. Pheidippides, a swift runner, was dispatched to Sparta to call for help. But the Spartans declared they could not come till the full moon had passed, for they were celebrating a religious festival.

The Persians, meanwhile, had landed near Marathon.

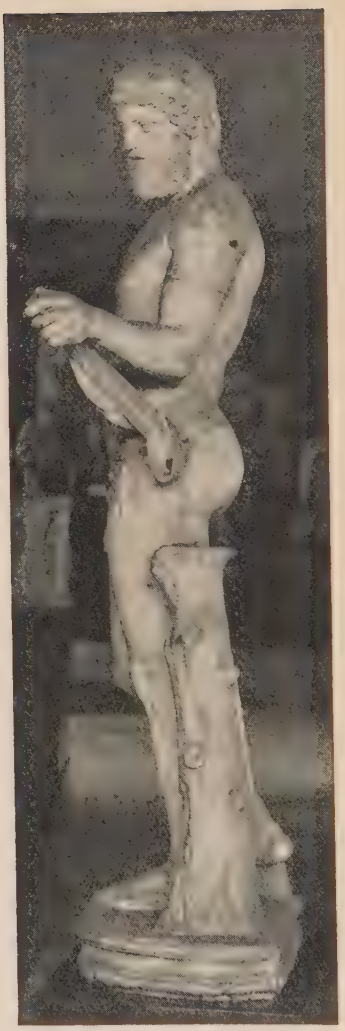
In Athens ten generals had been named, one from each tribe, with Callimachus as commander-in-chief. Foremost among the generals was Miltiades, formerly ruler of the Chersonese, who had escaped to Athens after the Ionian revolt. Others were Themistocles and Aristides. Miltiades urged that instead of waiting for the Persians to attack them in their unwalled city,

ATHENIANS ARMING. One combs his hair with a sword

The Plain of MARATHON

PERICLES

A GENERAL



THEMISTOCLES

they should go out and meet them. His courageous and wise advice was followed. Callimachus marched forth with the whole Athenian army, some 9,000 strong, and chose a splendid position, commanding the Athenian road and protected by the rising slope behind. Here the army was joined by the whole fighting force of the little city of Plataea, 1,000 men, who nobly came to stand by the Athenians in the hour of supreme danger. Even so, they were far outnumbered by the foe. For some days the armies stood facing one another. Then the 490
Persians embarked a part of their force and prepared to attack Athens by land and sea. Miltiades urged an immediate charge. Again his counsel was followed. In order to cover the long line of the enemy, the Athenian centre was made shallow, while the wings were strongly massed. Then the Greeks advanced at a run. Their centre was driven back, but the victorious wings closed in upon the Persians, broke their array, drove them before them to the sea, and pursued them even to their ships. Six thousand four hundred Persians lay dead: of Greeks only one hundred and ninety-two. It was a glorious victory: but the danger was not yet over. From the heights above the city Miltiades saw a shield flash. It was a signal, he knew, to the Persians.

The friends of Hippias in the city were summoning him to attack it while the army was away. Miltiades instantly led his men back to Athens. Their endurance and courage were successful. Darius turned back. The fleet sailed away.

After the battle the Spartans arrived. They saw the corpses of the Persians, and went away praising the high deeds of the Athenians. For the moment Athens had saved Greece.

Themistocles, however, saw that the danger was not

over. He saw, too, that if Greece was to hold out against Persia she must have a fleet. If Athens was to be a great power she must have a fleet. In this Aristides opposed Themistocles. Aristides was a very good and just man, in many ways a finer character than Themistocles, but he had not his keen eye. And Themistocles persuaded his countrymen that he was right. Aristides was banished for a time, and the Athenians began ship-building. In five years they had a fleet of 200 triremes, manned by splendidly trained sailors. Moreover, the harbour at the Piraeus, five miles from the Acropolis, was fortified and docks built there. The money for the fleet was got from the silver mines which had been discovered at Laurion.

Meantime Darius had died and his son Xerxes ruled in his stead. Mardonius, a tried and able general, and cousin to Xerxes, urged the king to avenge Marathon. A mighty expedition was prepared. Ten years after the battle of Marathon news came to Greece that a countless host was advancing by land and sea. The vast army numbered over 300,000 men : the fleet had 800 triremes.

The Delphic oracle foretold calamity.

Athens and Sparta summoned a congress of all the Greek cities to meet at the Isthmus. Some refused to come, because of old feuds. Argos hated Sparta too much : but Aegina and Athens put their long hate aside. Boeotia and the northern states feared to come. In all thirty-one states attended. Leonidas, the Spartan king, was chosen commander of the army. A Spartan was made admiral of the fleet, although Athens sent two-thirds of the ships, because the other states were jealous of Athens. All the exiles were recalled. No good citizen could be spared at such a time.

480 Leonidas took up his position in the pass of Thermopylae. His army was a small one. The Peloponn-

nesian main body was kept back by a festival. Nevertheless, the Persian attack was repulsed time after time. Xerxes, watching from heights, again and again leapt up from his throne in terror for his army. Although the Persians were thirty times as numerous as the Greeks, they could do nothing in the narrow gorge. At last a Malian named Ephialtes betrayed to Xerxes a mountain track by which the Greeks could be attacked from behind. Soon the little Greek army was surrounded. Leonidas knew that only death awaited him and his army, but death would bring immortal fame. No Spartan could retreat without dishonour. Overwhelmed by enormous odds behind and in front, the Greeks fell to a man. They sold their lives dearly, and slew hundreds of the enemy.

Afterwards honourable memorials were set up to these heroic soldiers. Six hundred years later that erected to the Spartans was still standing, with these proud, simple words: 'Stranger, bear word to the Spartans that we lie here keeping their charge.'

When the news came to the fleet it sailed down to the coast of Attica, for Athens was unprotected. Mardonius was marching south. The Spartans were busy building a wall to defend their own country, and sent no help. The Athenians had no choice but flight. Athens was deserted. The men took to the ships: the women, children, and old people fled to Troezen, Salamis and Aegina. When Xerxes arrived the town was deserted. He slew the handful of men who defended the Acropolis for two weeks, plundered the temples, and laid waste the city.

Everything now depended on the naval battle. The fleets were stationed off Salamis. Themistocles at last persuaded the Spartan admiral to fight there, instead of sailing off to the Isthmus. He also sent a secret message to Xerxes, pretending to be his friend, urging him to attack.

In the narrow strait, broken by the little island of Psyttalea, the crowding Persian ships hindered one another and fell into confusion. The Athenians defeated their best squadron, the Phoenician. Meantime, the Aeginetans broke through on the left, sailed round the island, and attacked the Persians in the rear. The Persians fought bravely, but they were ill led, and the place gave every advantage to the Athenians. The day ended in a brilliant victory for the Greeks.

The Persian fleet was no longer a danger. Xerxes sailed away to guard the Hellespont, for he feared that the Ionians would revolt. The fleet was gone, but the danger remained. Mardonius was a much abler general than Xerxes, and he was still in Greece with a magnificent army. He wintered in Thessaly, and in the spring of the next year was ready to descend upon Greece (479). The danger for Athens was as great as ever because of the selfishness of the Peloponnesians. They had finished their wall: behind it they were safe: they would not move. Mardonius, who knew this, first tried to win the Athenians over. He sent Alexander of Macedon to offer the Athenians, who had now returned to their dismantled city, honourable alliance if they would join him. Had they agreed, the fate of Southern Greece would have been sealed. The Athenian reply is unforgettable: 'Tell Mardonius that the Athenians say, "So long as the sun moves in his present course we will never come to terms with Xerxes."' The Spartans, dreading lest the Athenians should accept the Persian offer, had promised that their army should march north. But they did not keep their promise. Mardonius marched south. Again the Athenians had to leave their homes and flee to Salamis. Mardonius took the city, but sent another embassy to the Athenians promising not to ravage Attica if they would now accept his terms.

Their heroic patriotism was unshaken. The same reply was sent. One man who urged agreement was stoned to death by the indignant people. At the same time the Athenians, Megarians and Plataeans sent urgent envoys to Sparta demanding their aid and declaring that should they again fail it would be impossible for the Athenians to hold out. For ten days the Spartans still delayed, until a man from Tegea pointed out to them that, if the Athenians did join Mardonius no wall could save Sparta from an attack by sea. So long as the Athenian fleet barred the sea they were safe : no longer. At last Sparta awoke. Five thousand Spartans, with as many non-citizens and a body of helots, marched rapidly north under King Pausanias. At the Isthmus the force was joined by the Peloponnesian allies : at Eleusis by Aristides with 8,000 Athenians and 500 Plataeans.

Mardonius had withdrawn to Thebes, his centre of operations. Near Plataea, in a plain bounded to the 479
south by Mount Cithaeron, the armies met. Although the Greeks had no cavalry, the magnificent discipline and courage of the Spartans carried all before them. Mardonius himself was slain, and a complete victory won. Ten days later Thebes was taken, and the leaders of the Persian party put to death on the spot.

Almost on the same day the great fleet had sailed to meet the Persians at Samos ; off Cape Mycale a naval battle was fought in which the Persians were totally routed. In the middle of the engagement the Ionian squadron joined the Greeks: Samos was taken, and the camp of the enemy burned.

While the Peloponnesian section of the fleet sailed home the Athenian, under Xanthippus, continued the work of freeing the Hellespont from Persia. Sestos was taken, and its capture marks the beginning of a new stage in Greek history : the rise of the Athenian Empire.

IV. ATHENS UNDER PERICLES (478–435)

To the Greeks the power of Persia, for all its wealth, was a barbarian power. It was a power based on slavery. Had they been conquered, their lives might not have been less comfortable, but they would not have been free. Their love of freedom and their belief in it, is the greatest thing that the Greeks have given the world: and it was never more splendidly shown than in the years of the Persian wars.

The great danger that threatened all the Greek states and cities had made them act together for a little. In the face of the common enemy they felt that they were people of one blood, one speech, one civilization—Pan-Hellenes. This feeling was strongest in Athens. The Athenians had sacrificed more than the people of any other city. Twice they had left their homes to be ravaged by the enemy. Twice they had refused to make terms with the great king, when they might, by so doing, have saved themselves at the expense of the other states.

At the beginning of the wars, all the other states had looked up to Sparta as their leader. The Spartan generals had always held the highest command in the war. Their soldiers had won the final victory. But it was not really due to Sparta, but to Athens that Greece was still free. Athens, not Sparta, had taken a Pan-Hellenic view. Sparta had failed. After the war Sparta went back to the old ways. Their ideas were bounded by the Peloponnesus. The main interest of Greek history thus passes to Athens: to the attempt which Athens made to hold the Greek world together.

It was to Athens, not to Sparta, that the Ionian Greeks of the coast-cities turned. Pausanias, the Spartan general, did capture Byzantium from Persia, but then he began to play a game of his own. He wore Persian dress and offered to serve Xerxes if the great king would give him the hand of his daughter in marriage. Thereupon he was recalled, and Sparta did no more in the East.

The Ionian cities and the other Greek states of the Aegean and the coast saw there was no safety for them so long as they stood alone. Sparta had shown that no real help was to be expected from her. They therefore turned to Athens. Athens was ready. A very few years after the battle of Mycale, a league of sea-states was formed. To protect the cities against the barbarian and to ravage the country of the great king, some seventy cities bound themselves together. Athens was at the head of the league. It included the Ionian and Aeolian 478
cities on the coast of Asia and the islands along the coast, towns in the Propontis and in Thrace, the Cyclad islands, and all the cities in Euboea save one. Although the confederacy was a bond of sea-states, many of them were so small and poor that they could not pay for more than one ship or part of a ship. It was therefore agreed that there should be a common treasury, and that the poorer states might pay a certain sum into the treasury each year in lieu of equipping a ship for the common fleet. The treasury was housed in the island of Delos. The just Aristides had the delicate task of settling how much each member of the league was to pay. So well did he do his work that his list was used for fifty years. Ten Athenian officers collected the payments. Athens, as the head of the league, had the ruling voice at the council meetings. Cimon, son of Miltiades, was made general of the Confederate fleet, and he immediately set out against Persia. He captured some

important places on the Hellespont. The towns of Caria and Lycia were freed from Persian rule and en-
468 rolled in the Confederacy. On the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia, two great battles were fought with the Persians. Both on land and on sea they were utterly defeated. Two hundred Phoenician ships were destroyed.

After the battle on the Eurymedon, danger from Persia was absolutely over. Southern Asia Minor was firmly bound to the Athenian confederations. Great booty was won in the battle, and brought home to pay for fortifying the Acropolis anew. After the battle of Plataea the Athenians had returned to their devastated city. The temples stood in ruins; the walls were level with the ground. It was a sight to fill the hearts of the citizens with despair. However, they wasted no time in grief. Under the guidance of Themistocles, the walls were rapidly built up, in a stronger and wider circle than before. So quickly was the work done that when envoys arrived from Sparta to say that fortifications were a mistake, and to urge the Athenians not to build them, the wall was already rising. Themistocles declared that it was for the people of Athens to decide whether or no their city should have walls. They were prepared to defend them, if the Spartans had anything to say. With that answer the envoys had to return. The Athenians finished their wall and soon the city began to rise again, in new beauty and splendour. Among their first tasks was to build a new home for Athene, the special goddess of the city. Her sacred image had been carried off by the citizens when they fled to Salamis: but the Persians had destroyed her house, which stood upon the high hill of the Acropolis. Soon it rose again; and the Erechtheum too, the oldest of all the temples, was rebuilt near by.

The Piraeus, the Athenian harbour, was nearly five miles away from the city. As the Athenian navy grew, and as her trade waxed in importance, it was needful to fortify the Piraeus also. This was immediately set in hand. Later, long walls were built all the way from Athens down to the sea, which enclosed both the town and the harbour. Thus, at home, Athens was preparing for empire, and the league gradually changed its character. Carystus, a city in Euboea, which had refused to join, was compelled to do so by Cimon and the fleet. When Naxos left the league, Cimon conquered it. Both Carystus and Naxos were ruled from Athens. As the years went on, the number of states which were subject to Athens, not free members of the league, increased. These subject cities were ruled by Athenian laws, and bound to supply Athens with soldiers in time of war. At the same time, more and more of the free cities began to pay tribute, instead of sending ships. Less than twenty years after the Confederacy was formed, the treasury was moved from Delos to Athens. The league, in fact, had become an Athenian Empire.

Sparta would have liked to interfere, but she was not able to do so. An earthquake had laid the city in ruins and killed many of its inhabitants. At the same time the Messenian serfs rose in revolt. The Spartans were defeated in battle, and the Messenians entrenched themselves in the stronghold of Ithome There they held out for two years. Sparta had to call upon all her allies for aid. They even appealed to Athens. The Athenians sent help, because Cimon, who admired Sparta, advised them to do so. But when they reached Ithome the Spartans said they did not want their aid. Cimon was banished.

After the fall of Cimon a statesman rose to the highest place in Athens under whose guidance the greatness of

the city reached its summit. This was Pericles. Pericles was descended, on his mother's side, from the great Alcmaeonid family. He was trained as a soldier. From Anaxagoras, the philosopher, he learned how to think. Pericles believed that the Athenian people were called upon to rule over lands much wider than their own, and to hold up before the whole world the example of a life of freedom and beauty. Freedom, he held, was to be found only in a state where the citizens readily obeyed wise laws which they themselves made. Freedom was found in the service of the state : the good state was made up of happy citizens.

Cleisthenes had done a good deal to make the government of Athens really free : but Pericles did much more. In the Council of Five Hundred every part of Attica was represented : fifty men being chosen, by lot, from each of the ten tribes. Peace and war were voted on in the assembly of the whole people. The council managed the money of the state and public works of all sorts : it made laws and received envoys from foreign powers. Its decisions were carried out by nine officers called archons. In the time of Pericles the archons too were chosen by lot. Thus any man, however poor or lowly, might be chosen to sit in the assembly or to be archon, or to serve on the juries in the ecclesia or law-courts. But though a poor man might be chosen, he often could not afford to serve. He had his living to earn. Pericles therefore proposed that there should be a small daily pay for all these services. In this way, the offices were open to every one.

Pericles saw clearly enough that Sparta looked with jealous eyes at the rising power of Athens. He disliked the narrow cramping system of Sparta. To him it seemed that the rule of Athens was a real boon, because the Athenians carried their free system with them everywhere. Athens, to him, was the school of Hellas. It

AEGINA. Slips for launching triremes in the harbour

GULF OF CORINTH

GREEK THEATRES. Ruins at Megalopolis (top) and Epidaurus. Megalopolis is said to have held 20,000 spectators

would be good for Hellas if Athenian rule spread far and wide. He had no patience with Cimon's half-hearted policy of friendship with Sparta. There could be no real friendship between such different states. An alliance was formed with Argos and Thessaly, the sworn enemies of Sparta.

Soon war broke out between Athens and Corinth. Corinth was a great trading city, and the rise of Athenian trade was hateful to her. The Athenian fleet gained victories on the river Halieis and off Cecryphalea. Then Aegina, fearing that if Athens defeated Corinth 459
they would suffer, joined in. A great naval battle was fought off Aegina. The Athenians were victorious again. They captured seventy of the enemies' ships, landed on the island, and blockaded the town. A Peloponnesian army marched to help the Aeginetans, and the Corinthians marched into the Megarid. But they did not know of what stuff the Athenians were made. The regular army was in Aegina, but the youths below the age of service and the old men above it were pressed into an extraordinary army and rapidly advanced to defend Megara, which had joined Athens in the previous year. The Corinthians were defeated in the very act of setting up a trophy. The blockade of Aegina went on, and the rest of the fleet was boldly sent on an expedition to Egypt.

At the end of two years the Aeginetans capitulated. They surrendered their fleet and agreed to pay tribute to Athens. It was a real triumph. It had always been hateful to the Athenians to look out across their bay and see Aegina threatening them. Now they could look out with pleasure. In the next year all Boeotia save Thebes was overrun and lay at Athens' feet. Argos, Phocis, and Achaea joined the league.

By land and sea Athens had secured brilliant victories.

She was the first state in Greece. The real strength of the city lay in the spirit of its people and the love they felt for her : a love which made them all feel life well spent in the service of what the poet called

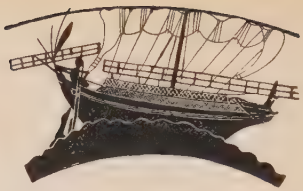
> O rich and renowned and violet crowned,
> O Athens ! the envy of nations !

Pericles spent large part of the moneys that flowed into the treasury of the state from war and trade in making the city beautiful. The temples of the gods rose again, far more splendid than they had been : for, as he held, the city ennobled herself by ennobling the houses of the gods : and gratitude was due to them for deliverance from the Persian peril. Under his guidance the richer citizens freely gave of their own wealth to the service of the city. The fleet was largely built at their cost. Each wealthy burgher in turn had to fit up a galley, launch it, and train the oarsmen. The man on whom this duty fell was called a trierarch, and the trierarch spent a year with his ship. At the end of the year he handed it over in good repair to the state officers. The wealthy men also furnished the deputations sent from time to time to Delphi or to the temple of Apollo at Delos, or to the great Pan-Hellenic festivals. They trained and equipped the choruses which took part in the annual festival held at Athens in honour of the god Dionysus. Each tribe selected a wealthy citizen to fit out their chorus with due splendour and to have them trained in the parts written for them by some poet. It was for these festivals that the glorious plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were written. The festival of Dionysus was the great festal day of the Athenian year. Strangers flocked from all parts of the Greek world to see the performances in the magnificent theatre which Pericles had had built by craftsmen who

wrought lovingly with keen pleasure in the beauty of their work.

No period in the history of the world is happier than the fifty years after the battle of Marathon. There is a radiance about Athenian life in those years which no other age or place has ever equalled. The city had grown to be a place of such grave loveliness that every day gave joy and pride to her beauty-loving citizens. Fair white temples and houses for the gods crowned the hills, and the sculptured images in them, like the buildings themselves, have been the wonder and worship of all later times. In those years the Greeks created a beauty in sculpture, architecture, poetry, to which all European thought goes back.

THE ERECHTHEUM on the Athenian Acropolis in which were preserved the salt spring of Poseidon and the olive-tree given by Athene



V. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR. I (435–421)

The workmen were still busy on the great five-gated entrance to the Acropolis (Propylaea) when ambassadors came from Corcyra to Athens asking the help of the Athenian people against Corinth.

The island of Corcyra was a very wealthy and flourishing state. Her navy was the third in Greece: that of Corinth being second. Settlers from Corinth had originally founded the city: but the Corcyraeans were extremely independent and never allowed Corinth to interfere. They were therefore indignant when Corinth took part with one of their cities, Epidamnus, which had risen in revolt. A great naval battle took place. Corinth was defeated. Corcyra was mistress of the western sea: her fleet harassed the subjects of Corinth. Corinth called on her allies for aid. At the same time she began building a new navy. The Corcyraeans then sent envoys to Athens: Corinth also sent envoys. Since she belonged to the Peloponnesian league, if Athens made war on her, the Thirty Years' Peace with the Peloponnesians, made in 445, would be broken. There was a strong party in Athens which was eager for war. The merchants and traders of the Piraeus had become more and more important in politics. The two enemies of Athenian trade were Corinth and Megara. Megara, which had joined Athens in 458, had gone back to the Peloponnesian league in 446. Corinth and Megara blocked Athenian commerce. If Athens could defeat the Peloponnesian league, she would be mistress of the world of trade.

Athens sent ships to Corcyra. But the Corinthians could not stir the Spartans: even though Athens sent an army to besiege Potidaea, once a Corinthian colony, now an Athenian tribute state, which had revolted.

Meantime Pericles showed what Athens could do. The Megarian decree was issued. This decree closed all the harbours of the Athenian Empire and all the markets of Attica to Megarian goods. Megara was ruined. What Athens had done to Megara, she could do to the sea-coast cities of the Peloponnese.

At last the Spartans were roused. In 431 war began.

Pericles was at the height of his power in Athens. Since the strength of the city lay on the sea, he gathered all the people of Attica within the walls, where their ships brought them supplies of every sort: and left the bare land of Attica for the Peloponnesian invaders. When King Archidamus and the army crossed the border into Attica in the spring they found a deserted country-side. There was nothing for them to attack but the trees and cornfields. They did all the damage they could and then retired. The Athenian fleet had meantime been successful in the north. Cephallenia, an important island, was taken; some towns on the coast of Acarnania were captured. The inhabitants of Aegina were driven out, and Athenian citizens settled in the island in their stead.

Pericles advised his countrymen to set aside a thousand talents as a reserve fund, in case the enemy ever came against Athens by sea. This was done.

In the first days of the next summer the Lacedaemonians and their allies invaded Attica as before and laid the country waste. The season was exceptionally hot. The wind that generally refreshed the land never blew. In Athens people were crowded together. A deadly plague broke out among them. Pericles himself sickened,

and among those who suffered was Thucydides, the historian who has described the war for us, and also this scourge that fell upon the Athenian people. The physicians found no means of staying the terrible disease. The dead lay unburied in the streets. The temples were full of corpses. All through the summer and the winter that followed and another summer and winter beyond them the terrible disease raged. One out of every four of the population lay dead. Athens could ill spare them. Each year, too, the Lacedaemonians invaded the land and ravaged it. Worse than that: the spirit of the people never recovered. Athens was never the same after the plague. The old joy had gone, the old faith, the old ideals. The people despaired of themselves and of their city. They turned against Pericles. He was fined and driven from office. They even sent ambassadors to treat with the Spartans. The Spartans refused their terms.

Pericles was recalled, but died very soon afterwards. His death was a grievous loss to his country. The new leaders of the people forgot many of the things that had made Athens great: her faithfulness to her word, her defence of the oppressed.

In the third year of the war King Archidamus, instead of invading Attica, laid siege to Plataea, by the advice of the Thebans. Ever since the battle of Marathon the Plataean land had been sacred. The Plataeans appealed to Athens. Athens promised to protect them. For two years the Plataeans held out against Archidamus, trusting in Athenian promises. Plataea was but a day and night's march away: but the Athenians were busy: their fleets were on the high seas: help never came.
427 At last two hundred of the defenders made their escape by night. The rest were forced to capitulate through want of food. They were put to death to a man and the

city razed to the ground. The road between Megara and Thebes was in Lacedaemonian hands.

News had come to Athens meantime that Mytilene, one of the richest cities of the league, and among the few which still sent ships, had revolted. A large fleet was sent and the rebellion suppressed. The discussion in the Athenian assembly as to how the Mytileneans were to be punished clearly showed the change that had come over the spirit of the Athenian people. A new class of man came to the front. The merchants and traders were more powerful than they had been in the time of Pericles. Many of the new leaders did not belong to the old high-born families or even to the upper classes at all. They had risen because they had made money in trade or had won distinction in the law-courts by their keen wits. Among these men were Hyperbolus, the lamp-seller, and Cleon, the tanner. Cleon was a powerful speaker and a dangerous man because he could and often did rouse the people to wild excitement. Pericles had always taught and shown by his own example that self-control was the first thing that a wise man and a good citizen must learn and practise. Not so Cleon. Cleon, though no soldier, now became leader of the war party. He urged that all the people of Mytilene should be put to the sword. Finally it was decided that the leaders should perish. Even so nearly a thousand men lost their lives.

Meantime the war went on. The Athenian navy, under a brilliant admiral named Phormio, defeated the Peloponnesian fleet in the Corinthian Gulf and again at Panormus. At Naupactus, too, an engagement which began with success for the enemy ended in their total rout. It was a real loss to the Athenians that Phormio was slain soon after.

The fleet had constantly to be replenished. Expedi-

tions to Acarnania and Ambracia under Demosthenes, an able and ambitious soldier, had cost money. The Athenian treasury began to grow empty. Cleon was an able financier: but he had to be popular. At first a tax levied on the property of the citizens was tried. That was not liked. Then Cleon hit upon a better device. The subject states must pay more. The tribute, fixed by Aristides the Just, was doubled.

425 The poorer Athenians suffered greatly, their harvests were destroyed every year by the invaders. Thanks to Cleon, the fee paid to those who served as jurymen was raised from one to three obols a day.

About this time Gorgias, the most eloquent orator in the world, came to Athens to ask her to help the Sicilian city of Leontini. Leontini was at war with Syracuse, the friend of Corinth. Moreover, the merchants in Athens saw in Sicily a great new market for their goods. An expedition was voted at once. The force sent, however, was not really big enough, and nothing much was done. The main fleet, under Eurymedon, was driven by storms into the harbour of Pylos on the west coast of Messenia. Demosthenes, who was serving as an officer, persuaded the generals to fortify the place, which was a magnificent harbour and stronghold, while the winds held them there. The Spartans were greatly alarmed when they heard that the enemy was entrenched at Pylos. The army under King Agis had invaded Attica as usual in the spring. It left the country after only two weeks there: and a fleet and army were dispatched to blockade the Athenians in Pylos by land and sea. Their attack was repelled. An Athenian fleet sailed into the harbour, drove back the Spartan ships, and blockaded their army in its turn on the island of Sphacteria.

The Spartan government, dreading a helot revolt with the enemy in their country, sent ambassadors to Athens

to sue for peace. They offered the terms on which Pericles had advised his countrymen to insist. Athens was to keep all her conquests, and Sparta would recognize her empire—a thing she had always hitherto refused to do.

Peace on such terms was victory. It gave Athens all she could hope to gain, however long the war went on. The treasury was low: the war had lasted for seven years.

Unhappily Cleon persuaded the Athenians to reject the terms. The opportunity was lost. It never came again. From this time on, in spite of some brilliant successes, Athenian affairs go downhill.

There was in Athens a strong party which hated Cleon and all his ways. This party found its leader in Nicias, a safe and very worthy man of the old school. Nicias was a wealthy mine-owner whom every one respected. He had always been most generous in all public services. He was a devout servant of the gods, and took priests and soothsayers with him everywhere. Nicias was at this time head of the army. He was blamed when the blockade of Sphacteria proved a longer and more difficult matter than had been expected. The Spartans had plenty of provisions: the Athenians in Pylos were hard pressed for food. Cleon, too, was blamed because he had rejected the Spartan terms. Thereupon Cleon declared that if he were commander he would soon capture Sphacteria. Nicias took him at his word, and bade him go and try: he offered to hand over the command to him. Cleon, who was no soldier, attempted to get out of it: but at last he departed, taking Demosthenes with him. A night-attack, made with superior forces, was successful. Nearly three hundred Spartan captives were brought home, to the amazement of Greece, where it was believed that no Spartan ever 424
surrendered. Pylos was fortified and held.

Later in the year Nicias took Methone, in Corinthian territory, and captured the island of Cythera. But these successes were overshadowed by the failure of a mistaken attack on Boeotia, led by Demosthenes. At Delium the Athenians were completely defeated. Moreover, in Thrace things went against them. A really brilliant general had appeared on the Spartan side, Brasidas by name. Brasidas, though a Spartan, had the energy and imagination of an Athenian. He was a magnificent soldier, and so attractive a man that he made friends wherever he went. He gained a series of towns in the north. Acanthus, a very rich city, joined the Peloponnesian league; and Amphipolis, a most important fortress, was captured. Thucydides the historian was banished because he had been commander in Amphipolis and found unready when the enemy attacked.

Amphipolis was a serious loss, and in 422 Cleon rightly persuaded the Athenians to try to recover it. Nicias put difficulties in the way: and at last stupidly
422 insisted on making Cleon himself commander, although Brasidas led the enemy. In this Nicias showed himself a poor patriot. Cleon was defeated and slain: but the victory cost Sparta dear, for Brasidas, too, fell.

In the next year Nicias succeeded in making peace. The moment was ill chosen. All the advantage was on Sparta's side, since the truce between Sparta and Argos was just at an end. The peace itself was a complete failure. Corinth, Boeotia, and Megara—the chief Peloponnesian allies—denounced the terms as unjust, and refused to agree to them. The people of Chalcidice would not hand over Amphipolis to Athens, as had been agreed, and at the end of two years the Peace of Nicias
421 had completely broken down. Athens formed an alliance with Argos, and the war soon began again.

Syracusan coin celebrating Victory. Athenian armour at the base

VI. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR. II (421–404)

A NEW leader had appeared in Athens: one of the most brilliant men she ever produced, but also one of the most dangerous to the state. This was Alcibiades. He and Hyperbolus were now at the head of the party of war and aggression. Alcibiades was at this time about thirty-two years of age: very young for high position in Athens. He had everything on his side: birth, wealth, and beauty. He was descended from the hero Ajax and related to the noble Alcmaeonid family, to which Pericles, who had been his guardian, also belonged. His wealth was boundless, and he spent it lavishly in every kind of public display. He was brilliant in war, as in everything else. Unhappily his one desire in life was to be brilliant. He had no feeling for the things that had made the real greatness of Athens. Harmony and moderation were words he scorned. For ideals he had no use. Alcibiades, being a general, was very useful to the popular party.

The Argive Alliance did not last long. The Spartans invaded Argos. Alcibiades and the Athenians joined 418
the Argive forces and a battle was fought at Mantinea. The Argives were victorious on the left: but the Spartans defeated the Athenian right and the glory of their arms was restored. A change of parties in Argos led to a change of politics. Argos joined the Peloponnesian league. Athens stood alone again.

The change in the Athenian spirit was but too clearly shown in the cruel treatment of the inhabitants of the little island of Melos. Cleon had in 425 added the name of Melos to the list of tribute-paying states. Melos had
416 never paid. Now an expedition was sent against the island. For some time the Melians held out: but at last they had to surrender. No pity was shown them. The Athenians put to death all the grown men, and sold the women and children for slaves. Later they sent out five hundred settlers and inhabited the place themselves.

Melos was a small and poor island. In the west there was a very rich island: and to Sicily Athens now turned her eyes again. The former expedition, eleven years ago, had not been a great success: but Alcibiades filled the Athenians with the desire for adventure and for spoil. Segesta, a small Sicilian town, sent to beg the Athenians to send an armament to help them against another city, Selinus. The Athenian envoys who went to Segesta returned with glowing accounts of the marvellous wealth of the place. They had dined off silver in private houses and seen temples full of gold. Alcibiades painted glowing pictures of an empire in the unknown west. The Athenians were dazzled. Nicias, who opposed the plan, was overruled; but he was chosen as commander. In this the Athenians showed folly. Nicias was a timid general. He thought the whole expedition a mistake. He was therefore not the man to lead it. Boldness was the main quality needed for such an adventure. Lamachus, a good soldier, and Alcibiades were made joint commanders with Nicias.

The expedition was fitted out on a huge scale, and
415 early in May of the next year it was ready to start. A mysterious event delayed it. One morning when the citizens came out of their houses they found that some impious hand had defaced all the images of Hermes—

the god who protected commerce and wayfaring—which stood in the market-place, at the street corners, and at the entrances of private houses. The Athenians were alarmed. It seemed an ill omen. Some enemy of the state must have done it. Who could it be? Those who disliked Alcibiades—and they were many—at once pointed at him. He was known to have mocked at the gods before. But no one had any proofs to offer.

In the excitement of the departure of the fleet all else was forgotten. No Greek state had ever before sent out such a magnificent armament. There were 134 triremes, carrying over 30,000 fighting men.

Disappointment soon greeted those who had set out with such high hopes. Rhegium refused to join them, and at Segesta they found they had been utterly deceived as to the wealth of their allies. While the generals were deliberating what to do, a ship arrived from Athens ordering Alcibiades to return and stand his trial. The people had again fallen into fearful trepidation on account of the affair of the images.

Alcibiades obeyed: but at Thurii he escaped. In Athens he was condemned to death and his property seized. It was small wonder if Alcibiades felt indignant. He had no feeling of duty towards his country. He had himself said that the government of Athens was 'acknowledged folly'. He was too active and too ambitious a man to live in exile and obscure. He knew that he could have made the Sicilian expedition a success. Since the Athenians would not let him do that, he was determined to make it as complete a failure as possible. He warned the Syracusans that the Athenians were preparing to attack them. The Syracusans appealed to Sparta. Alcibiades was present at the Spartan assembly and made a powerful speech. He urged the Spartans to do two things. First, to send a good Spartan general to Syracuse. This

was done. Corinth sent ships, and the Spartans an able soldier named Gylippus. His second piece of advice was also followed. Decelea, in Attica, was taken and fortified. Thus the Athenian supplies were cut off and they were prevented from working their silver mines.

From this moment the issue of the long war was decided. Thanks to Alcibiades, it was decided against Athens.

Nicias meantime, instead of attacking Syracuse at once before it had time to prepare, had done nothing of any moment all through the summer and autumn. Towards winter he lured the Syracusan fleet away from the Great Harbour. The Athenians landed on the south-west shore, and in a land battle which followed the ill-trained Syracusan army was utterly defeated. Nicias stupidly failed to follow up his advantage. He retired to Catane for the winter.

Warned by the messengers sent by Alcibiades, the people in Syracuse did what they could to prepare for a siege. The town was magnificently situated on an island which lies at the point of a sharp nose of land surrounded on three sides by water. The passage between the island and the mainland had been filled up, and to the north and south of it were excellent harbours. To the south of the latter, the Great Harbour, the
414 Athenians made their first attack. They captured the heights—the Epipolae—above the city: fortified Labdalon, near the north cliffs, and began to build a wall right across the hill, from the cliffs on the north to the harbour on the south, in order to close the town in between the land force and the sea force.

The Syracusans began to build a counter-wall; but the Athenians destroyed it to the north. They then left the northern part of their own wall unfinished and pressed on with the southern stockade. The ground

was swampy and difficult, so that the Syracusans did not attempt to build a counter-wall but dug a trench. At dawn one morning the Athenians under Lamachus descended into the swamp, destroyed the Syracusan works, and defeated them in a battle. Lamachus himself was slain, a severe loss to the Athenians.

The Syracusans were so much cast down by this defeat that they offered to make terms. Nicias refused. This was a mistake. A still greater one was that he neglected to finish the northern wall. Gylippus, the Spartan general, was able to enter the city from the north with his reinforcements, and from this time the fortune of the war changed. Gylippus was a first-rate general. He filled the Syracusans, who knew that the struggle for them was one of life and death, with new hope. The Athenians were beaten in the wall-building race. Gylippus shut them in, so that no help could come to the Athenians from the north ; while Syracuse could not be cut off.

The besiegers were now besieged, and Nicias was ill. Unless help came from Athens, on a great scale, there was no hope of success. Nicias wrote home and begged to be recalled.

The Athenians themselves were severely harassed by the Spartan troops at Decelea. They had fixed their hopes on the western expedition, although they had done their best to ruin it by recalling Alcibiades. They now refused to recall Nicias. To support him, however, they dispatched a new armament, almost as great as the first. Seventy-three triremes bearing five thousand hoplites set sail under Demosthenes and Eurymedon.

They did not arrive too soon ; the day before Gylippus had attacked the Athenians by land and sea, defeated them on land, and driven the ships back to the north of 413
the harbour.

Demosthenes saw at once that the Athenian position was hopeless unless they could break the Syracusan cross-wall. A night attack was made : it was a failure. Nearly two thousand men were lost. The army was worn out by sickness from the unhealthy swamp where they had been so long encamped ; the men had lost heart. Demosthenes urged a retreat while they still held the sea and could retreat. Nicias refused.

But news came that Gylippus was on his way with reinforcements for the enemy; help from Boeotia and the Peloponnese had already arrived. A night was fixed for the retreat, but when the night came, there was an eclipse of the moon. Nicias was superstitious : so were his men. The march had to be put off, the chance was lost. The Syracusans learned the Athenian plans and blocked all the roads : at the same time they made an attack on the fleet in the harbour. The Athenians had no room to move, they were defeated on both wings ; Eurymedon was slain, eighteen ships were captured. Then the Syracusans barricaded the mouth of the harbour by chaining craft of every kind together.

Unless the Athenians could break through this line they were in a trap. All the men left their posts on the hills and went down to the ships, and a desperate battle followed.

It was a terrible day; both sides fought with fury: in the end the Athenians gave way. They were chased by the foe to their own wall. A panic fell upon the men such as had never been known in an Athenian army. The generals had no heart even to ask for a truce to bury the dead, whose bodies floated on the surface of the water.

At daybreak, when Demosthenes tried to stir his men to make another charge in the ships, they refused to embark. Nothing but retreat remained : and even

retreat seemed hopeless. There are few pages in history more painful to read than those in which Thucydides has described the forlorn march of all that remained of the great army. For four days they trudged, many of them wasted by sickness, incessantly harassed by slingers and horsemen as they toiled along. As they entered the rugged pass near Floridia they found the way barred by the Syracusans. In a heavy thunderstorm they retreated.

Nicias pressed on with the vanguard: soon the news reached him that the rear, under Demosthenes, had been cut off, surrounded, and forced to surrender. Nicias offered terms: they were scornfully refused. Worn with want of food, and suffering agonies of thirst under the blazing skies and on the dusty roads of mid-September, the men dragged on. At last they came to a river: they rushed down to the stream, although a great army stood ranged on the opposite bank. As they drank, the Syracusans fell upon them and slaughtered them in such numbers that the stream ran red with blood.

All was over: Nicias surrendered to Gylippus. What happened to him and to Demosthenes is unknown. The fate of their men was terrible. Seven thousand of them were cast into the stone quarries of Syracuse. There, in deep stone dungeons, with no roof to protect them from the sun by day or the damp and chill by night, they toiled, half starved. For nine months they lay there. Those who survived were sold into slavery. Only a few ever saw Athens again; and those who did won their freedom because they could repeat the verses of the Athenian poet, Euripides.

The news of the Sicilian disaster was received in Athens with something like despair. There were no more men to take the place of the splendid armies that had perished there: no more money to fit out such armaments.

With the Spartans at Decelea, the mines at Laurion could not be worked, and it was from them that Athens got the silver of which she made her coins. There were no more of the famous silver pieces, bearing Athene's owl and olive branch, which had been used from one end of the world to the other. The gold offerings in the temples had to be melted down to make money. Copper was used for the smaller coins.

The allies would not pay more: the Athenian tax-gatherers were detested. A change was made, the tribute was taken off altogether, and instead a tax was charged on all goods that came in and out of the harbours.

The glory of Athens was dimmed: at home there was strife and questioning: the long war told on men's spirits. There is a note of bitterness and weariness even in the poets who wrote at this time; though some of their most splendid works belong to it. Even Aristophanes, the gay comic poet, expresses, in the comedies belonging to these years, a longing for peace.

Many held that the government was to blame for the disasters. Many said that where the whole people ruled this sort of thing must happen. The crowd was swayed by feeling, not by reason. When it was too late, they were sorry and blamed some one else. They had ruined the expedition by recalling Alcibiades, and making him an enemy. They would never let him return, though he was plotting to do so and there was a small party ready to recall him.

A large part of the Greek world, meantime, rejoiced in the misfortunes of Athens; they had hated the Athenian Empire. The Greek idea was a world of little independent states. Athens had tried to make one great state. The Athenians had boasted that their city was the school of Hellas, and by doing so made enemies far and wide.

Many Athenian allies—among them Euboea, Chios, Lesbos—sent messages to King Agis that they were ready to revolt. Sparta and Boeotia set about building a fleet. Even more dangerous was the interference of Persia. Alcibiades was at the court of Tissaphernes, 412
satrap of Sardis; and both Tissaphernes and his rival, Pharnabazus of Phrygia, thought they saw a chance of winning back the coast cities for Persia. Sparta, to her shame, made a bargain with Persia (Treaty of Miletus). The great king paid for the Peloponnesian fleet; in return Sparta promised to hand over the Greeks of Asia at the end of the war.

Athens was in great danger. In the beginning of 411
the year her fleet was defeated off Syme: the subject states revolted.

The Lacedaemonian fleet then sailed to Oropus. Opposite Euboea a body of thirty-six Athenian vessels was utterly defeated. Euboea rose in revolt: never had Athens been in such peril. A revolution had taken place in the city, by which a council of 400 was set up; but the army and fleet at Samos rose against the 400 and elected Alcibiades as general. The loss of Euboea cut off the food supply. Had Agis attacked from Decelea, while the Peloponnesian fleet besieged the Piraeus, the city would have been lost.

Instead, the Peloponnesians sailed away to the Hellespont. The Athenian fleet under Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus followed, and at Cynossema a battle was fought: it ended in victory for the Athenians. Winter put an end to fighting.

In the spring the Spartan admiral, well supported by Pharnabazus, laid siege to Cyzicus. The Athenian fleet under Thrasybulus and Theramenes sailed through 410
the Hellespont in three divisions and took the enemy by surprise; in a land and sea battle the Athenians were

completely victorious. Nearly sixty of the enemy's fleet were captured or sunk: the Peloponnesian navy no longer existed. Sparta offered peace: things to stay as they were. The Athenians refused; they would not leave the Aegean cities under Persian rule.

Home affairs in Athens were now mainly in the hands of Cleophon, a great financier, and a man of the type of Cleon. Like Pericles he employed the poorer citizens on public works. At this time the Athenians, hard pressed as they were by the war, built a glorious new temple to Athene, the guardian of the city. Alcibiades was with the fleet and a very able leader. Athens gained ground.

A change came, however, when Cyrus, son of the great king himself, appeared as governor of Western
407 Asia. Cyrus was eager to end the war: in Lysander, the new Spartan admiral, he found the very man to work with him.

Lysander attacked the Athenian fleet as it lay off Notion, defeated it, and captured fifteen ships. Conon, a new admiral, was appointed to take the place of
406 Alcibiades. In the next year the Athenians gained a great victory at Arginusae, south of Lesbos. The Peloponnesians lost seventy ships; but as the victors sailed away a storm arose, in which twenty-five ships were lost with their crews. In Athens the eight generals were blamed for not rescuing the men, and put upon their trial. They were all judged together, condemned, and six of them executed at once.

Athens was again in command of the sea; the Spartans again offered peace: by Cleophon's advice it was again refused.

405 Lysander had not been in command at Arginusae. In 405 he was again appointed admiral. After getting ample supplies of money from Cyrus, he sailed to the

Hellespont. The Athenian fleet followed. Lysander led them into a very bad position at Aegospotamoi, and suddenly attacked when the ships were riding at anchor, their crews being ashore for the midday meal. There was no battle. One hundred and sixty out of the fleet of one hundred and eighty vessels were captured. Three or four thousand Athenians were taken prisoner and put to death. Aegospotamoi was a complete disaster. Conon, the admiral, escaped with his life, but dared not return to Athens.

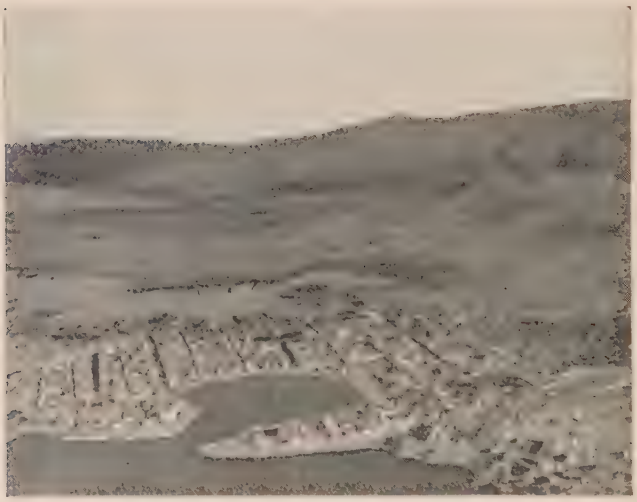
That night not a man slept in Athens. The fleet was annihilated. There was no hope. The city's sea-power was ended. She who had been absolute mistress there in the days of Pericles was now without a fleet. There was nothing to do but prepare for siege.

Lysander did not attack at once; his plan was to starve Athens out. First he drove as many people as he could from the out-settlements into the city, then he conquered all the Athenian possessions in Thrace and on the Hellespont. That done, he sailed into the Saronic Gulf with one hundred and eighty ships: blockaded Aegina, and occupied the Piraeus. At the same time King Pausanias entered Attica with an army and encamped to the west of the city. Agis, the other king, joined him from Decelea.

The Athenians were safe enough behind their walls; but they soon began to suffer horribly from famine. The Spartans refused to treat unless the long walls were pulled down. Cleophon refused to consider this; but at last the sufferings of the people became so great that they could not hold out. Their position was indeed hopeless. Cleophon was executed.

The allies met at Sparta to consider the fate of Athens. 404
Corinth and Thebes urged that the city should be utterly destroyed, the walls razed to the ground, and

the people sold into slavery. The Spartans, to their honour, took a nobler view. Athens had once saved Greece, they would not destroy her. Finally, the terms agreed upon were : Athens was to destroy the long walls and the fortifications of the Piraeus. She had to give up all her foreign possessions and become an ally of Sparta, following where Sparta led. But she was independent ; her power was shrunk to Attica, but within her own borders she was free. The whole of her fleet, save twelve triremes, was destroyed : all exiles were recalled.



THE PIRAEUS, the port of Athens, from the air

Socrates

VII. THE ASCENDANCY OF SPARTA (404–380)

After lasting twenty-seven years, the Peloponnesian war was over. The Athenian Empire was at an end. In order to defeat Athens, Sparta had sold the Asiatic Greeks to Persia and brought Persia back into the Greek world. Sparta's strength depended on Persia ; and the attempt she made to build up an empire of her own, like the Athenian, ended in complete failure, partly because of this, partly because there was not in Sparta the spirit that had made Athens great.

Although there was peace from the long war at last, within Athens there was no peace. Many of the exiles who returned thought that it was time there should be a change of government : that what the city needed was a firm rule ; that the direction of the state should not be in the hands of the whole people, but in those of a few strong men. Critias and Theramenes, the leaders of this party, got the assembly to pass a decree by which a body of thirty men was appointed to revise the laws. Critias, however, did not mean to stop at reforming the laws : he wanted to punish those who had banished him. Lists of so-called ' enemies of the state ' were drawn up, and on these lists the names of all those who disagreed with the Thirty, or whom the Thirty disliked, were put down, and those thus named perished.

Theramenes, who opposed this unjust and tyrannical way of ruling, was himself compelled to drink poison

by the other members of the Thirty. But the bad rule of the Thirty raised a party against them; this party grew rapidly. In Thrasybulus, an excellent soldier and most honourable man, they had a fine leader; and he, with a strong body of men, encamped at Phyle on the Boeotian border. There they held out and could not be dislodged. For some time civil war went on, and there seemed no end to it. Lives were being wasted, the affairs of the city were in confusion, trade was neglected, the fields lay idle. At last the moderate men in Athens called on the Spartans to come in and settle things.

Pausanias, the Spartan king, made peace: a general pardon was issued: the old free government was set up again in the city. Thanks in great measure to the wisdom and mildness of Thrasybulus, the settlement was carried out without any injustice or bitterness. For the sake of the state men forgot their private wrongs and sufferings at the hands of the Thirty, and since the rule of the many was restored in this spirit it lasted unshaken.

Athens never rose to be the first power in Greece again; in the world of war and action she was no longer important. But she kept her trade—the Piraeus was the trading and banking centre of the western world. In the world of art and literature she remained supreme; some of her most famous thinkers and writers belong to this period. Euripides the dramatist and Socrates the philosopher influenced all Greece then, and the whole world ever since.

For fifty years Socrates the philosopher was the best-known man in Athens. He never held high office, nor ever wished to do so; all he did was to talk to people in the streets and in the market-place about all the big questions of life. What is justice? What is right? What is the good state? These were the questions he was for ever asking, and the intelligent and cultivated

youths of the city would spend hours in talking with him, for he showed men how to use their minds. The young men who listened to him were many of the most notable of their day, among them Alcibiades, Xenophon, Plato, Critias.

There were some in Athens who looked askance at the philosopher. It was dangerous to ask so many questions. Some of the young men who had learned from him had come to little good—had he not taught Alcibiades, who had done more harm to the state than any other single man, and Critias? Five years after free government was restored in Athens, Socrates, who was then seventy, was accused of impiety and harming the young. The aged philosopher scorned to defend himself, for death to him was no evil: he drank the hemlock cheerfully, 399
discoursing with his friends to the last.

Plato, the greatest of his pupils, carried on his work. He founded a school and spent his life as a teacher. All Western philosophic thought rests on his teaching, and that of Aristotle, who came after him. Plato was not only a great thinker, he is also one of the most perfect writers that ever lived.

From all over the world men came to Athens to learn oratory from Lysias and Isocrates, philosophy from Plato and Aristotle. The city was still, what Pericles had called it, the school of Hellas.

One of the accounts of the life of Socrates was written by his pupil Xenophon. Xenophon has also left us the story of a very famous expedition in which he took part—that of Cyrus and the Ten Thousand.

Cyrus, the brother of King Artaxerxes, dreamed of conquering the Greek world. First, however, he must 401
seize the Persian throne: to this end he collected an army, declaring he was going against the hill tribes of Pisidia. Men from all parts of the world joined him:

among them ten thousand Greeks, most of them Spartans. The army marched into the very heart of the Persian Empire, through regions hitherto unknown to any Greek. Near Babylon, by the stream Cunaxa, they met the host of Artaxerxes. At Cunaxa Cyrus won a brilliant victory, but a useless one, for he himself fell in a wild charge. There was nothing for the army to do but retreat, and retreat they did with the greatest difficulty: after extraordinary adventures they at last reached the sea.

The story of their march made a deep impression on the Greek world. The idea entered men's minds that it was possible to attack Persia. The mystery of the vast unknown regions there began to lessen.

Agesilaus, king of Sparta, dreamed of going, like one of Homer's heroes, to conquer the fabulous East. Sparta was soon at war with Persia, for in lending troops to
398 Cyrus they had broken the truce. The Spartan admiral took many of the coast towns of Asia Minor, and Agesilaus overran Phrygia and collected vast booty there. But meantime Persia had found a first-rate leader. Conon, the Athenian admiral who had been defeated at Aegospotamoi and burned for revenge upon Sparta, was
394 put at the head of a fine fleet. At Cnidus he met the Spartan navy and crushed it utterly in a great battle. The greater part of the Spartan ships were captured or sunk, their admiral slain. Spartan sea-power was annihilated: the Spartan garrisons removed from the Asiatic towns. In Athens the citizens began to rebuild the long walls; war broke out in Greece, and Agesilaus had to return to attend to it.

Throughout the whole Greek world the Spartan rule was hated as the Athenian had never been hated. Sparta had seized all the advantages of the Peloponnesian war for herself, although her allies had done at

least as much as she had, and the lesser Greek states were bitter against her. Athens, Thebes, Corinth, and Argos formed a league against Sparta: a confederate army marched to the Isthmus and held its position there, despite the Spartan army which attacked it. When Agesilaus marched south the confederates advanced to meet him, and at Coronea a battle was fought. Although the Theban column drove right through the Lacedaemonian lines, Agesilaus was left master of the field. But the confederates still held the Isthmus, and Sparta, helpless without a navy, was shut up in the Peloponnese: Conon and his fleet ravaged the coasts. The Athenians, helped by Persian gold, completed the long walls.

The war went on: round the walls which the allies had built across the Isthmus there was perpetual fighting. In these raids great success was won by Iphicrates, an Athenian captain, and light-armed soldiers called 'peltasts' whom he trained: these peltasts were paid fighters.

At last the Spartans sent envoys to Persia to ask the great king to make peace: in 387 King Artaxerxes made a settlement. That Persia should lay down terms was a humiliation to the Greek world, for which it had to thank the Spartans. The Asiatic Greeks were left 387
subject to Persia: the states of Greece were independent.

Sparta was once more all-powerful in Greece, thanks to Persia. She ruled in a way that made her more and more unpopular. Mantinea in Arcadia was destroyed. 385
A league which had been formed among the cities of the Chalcidic peninsula was suppressed. The citadel of Thebes was seized and held by violence. This was 382
a breach of the truce, but the Spartans held what they had taken.

At the Olympic games, held two years after the king's

peace, Lysias, the great orator, warned the Greeks that the friendship of Sparta and Persia was a danger to
380 Greece. Four years later, Isocrates, even more famous than Lysias for his eloquence, declared that the Spartans were sacrificing the freedom of their fellow Greeks, and called upon all Greek peoples to unite against foreigners and tyrants.

Sparta paid no heed, but as a matter of fact she was less strong than she seemed. The whole state was an army and unfit for governing others; within there was discontent. The many were oppressed; even the army was no longer what it had been.

Eastern SATRAP and his chariot

Coin of Epaminondas as Theban Magistrate

VIII. THE ASCENDANCY OF THEBES

Xenophon declared that the unjust capture of the Theban citadel was the beginning of Sparta's downfall. So it proved. In Thebes there was a strong patriotic 378
party, and this party formed a plot to free Thebes. The leaders of the pro-Spartan party were murdered, and the citadel stormed and captured. Pelopidas, who led the conspirators, was crowned hero by the delighted Thebans.

In the war that followed Athens joined Thebes; year by year Sparta lost ground, and as she lost Athens gained. But at the end of six years a new power had arisen above them both—Thebes.

That Thebes now rose for a short time to be the ruling state in Greece was due to two causes: one was that Athens and Sparta were both tired. Both had lost an enormous number of men in the wars. Athens had lived too hard, the fire of her own spirit had burned her out.

The other reason was that Thebes at this moment possessed two great men—greater than any others living in Greece. These men were Epaminondas and his devoted friend Pelopidas. Epaminondas is one of the most splendid figures in Greek history: a military genius, a man of wide and deep culture, and of an upright and generous mind that made him feared as well as loved by his countrymen, who found their idol rather in Pelopidas, his friend.

The first task of Epaminondas was to fortify Thebes, the next to create a body of specially trained warriors; the Sacred Band, as it was called, was composed of three

hundred young men chosen from the noblest families in Thebes. Each man had proved his excellence in the wrestling school. They were fully armed hoplites, and each man had his chosen friend beside him, to fight and fall together.

The new corps soon gained a triumph which had a marked effect in Greece. Agesilaus had twice invaded Boeotia without success. The Spartan garrisons were driven out of the towns. At Tegyra, on the road from Orchomenus to Locris, the Sacred Band met six hundred Spartan hoplites and defeated them with the loss of both their generals.

376 Athens, too, had been successful. The Athenian admiral sailed round the Aegean in triumph, collecting money and enrolling new states. Corcyra was won over. This was a severe blow to Sparta. She sent envoys to Persia to get the great king to arrange a peace. Athens was not unwilling : she also sent envoys.

According to the king's peace, each city in Greece was to be free and independent. Epaminondas now declared that Thebes stood for Boeotia, just as Athens did for Attica and Sparta for Laconia. When this was not allowed he refused to swear to the peace.

371 The Peace of Callias ended the war between Athens and Sparta, but it left Thebes to be reckoned with.

Thebes was dangerous because of its great leaders and its strong armies. It was more dangerous because, a short time before the Peace of Callias, Epaminondas had formed an alliance with Jason of Pherae. Jason was a remarkable man, a great soldier who had suddenly made his little northern state an important power. He had brought the whole of Thessaly under his rule, and he dreamed of ruling all Hellas. His cavalry was already the best in Greece, and he had begun to build a navy.

According to the peace, all armaments were to be disbanded and all foreign garrisons recalled. Nevertheless, the Spartan army was not disbanded. On the contrary it was ordered to march from Phocis with King Cleombrotus at its head, against Thebes, to compel Thebes to set free the cities of Boeotia. Such an order violated the oaths just sworn. The Spartans, especially old Agesilaus, hated Thebes, and thought their chance had come to crush her. Greece looked on, expecting to see Thebes crushed.

Cleombrotus wished to attack Thebes before Jason could come south to help her. In order to avoid the Theban army, which was stationed at Coronea, the Spartans marched swiftly round Mount Helicon, captured the port of Creusis, and then turned northward along the road to Thebes. At Leuctra, where the road crosses the plain and rises among the hills, the way was barred. The Theban army was posted on the heights: they were about six thousand, the Lacedaemonians eleven thousand strong; but the Thebans had a first-rate military genius in their commander. Epaminondas arranged his forces so as to make his left wing deep. The Sacred Band under Pelopidas was stationed in front; behind were the spearsmen, fifty shields deep, in a solid wedge ready to be driven into the Spartans opposite them. The cavalry began the battle. The Lacedaemonian horse were weak—they were driven back in confusion on to their own lines; then the Theban left charged with such force and weight that nothing could stand against it. Cleombrotus himself fell: the Spartans were driven back, up the slopes of the farther hills, on to their own camp. A thousand Lacedaemonians fell, among them four hundred Spartans.

In Argos the Spartan governors were driven out; in Arcadia a confederation of free cities was formed,

Mantinea was rebuilt, and a new city named Megalopolis rose. When Tegea, the faithful ally of Sparta, joined the new league, Agesilaus led an army into Arcadia and the people looked round for help. Athens refused: but early in the winter Epaminondas marched into Arcadia at the head of his troops, and from Arcadia he pushed on into Laconia. Never within human memory
370 had an enemy set foot on Spartan soil. The Theban army advanced in four divisions into the plain through which the Eurotas flows, and met with no resistance. Only the river, swollen by the winter floods, prevented their advance against the unwalled city.

No one had ever inflicted such a wound upon Sparta. In the south-west Epaminondas founded a new city of Messene, to which serfs and exiles gathered. Messene became the capital of a new state hostile to Sparta.

Athens sent help to Sparta, but in the next year the
369 Thebans broke through the Spartan and Athenian lines and again invaded Laconia. Theban garrisons were put in the Peloponnesian cities. Oropus was seized from Athens.

Agents of the great king tried to arrange a peace, but without success.

368 Pelopidas settled a revolution in Macedonia and brought a number of youthful Macedonian nobles with him as hostages, including the new king's younger brother Philip. On his way home he visited Pherae.

Meantime, Methone and Pydna joined the Athenian league. Potidaea and Torone were captured. The fleet took Samos, and was so successful that Thebes built
364 a navy of one hundred ships which sailed to the Propontis under Epaminondas. At the same time Pelopidas marched into Thessaly and advanced against Pherae. Alexander's army met him in the pass of Cynoscephalae. The victory was with the Thebans, but Pelopidas, carried away by

passion at the sight of Alexander, pursued him too far and was slain.

The Arcadians threatened to join Sparta: to prevent them Epaminondas marched south at the head of the 362
full strength of the Boeotian army. At Mantinea he met the allied forces of Sparta, Athens, and the rest: a great battle followed. Epaminondas used the same tactics as at Leuctra, with the same success. The day ended in a great Theban victory: but it was of little use to Thebes, for Epaminondas, in whom her greatness rested, lay among the dead.

With the death of Epaminondas, the active ascendancy of Thebes was at an end: she remained the most powerful state in Greece only because of the greater weakness of Athens and Sparta.

LION OF THEBES
Set up over the dead of Chaeronea (p. 72)

Coin of Philip

IX. THE RISE OF MACEDONIA

THE northern kingdoms—Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace—had always seemed to the Greeks to lie outside the world of Greek states proper. Compared with the citizens of Athens, Argos, Corinth, or even Sparta, these northerners were rude barbarians.

Macedonia had played no very distinguished part in Greek history. Archelaus, who ruled at the time of the Peloponnesian war, had hoped to make his country a great power. He had built walls and made roads, and gathered to his court at Pella artists and poets. Euripides wrote his later plays at the Macedonian court, and he had as his companions Timotheus the musician and Zeuxis the painter. The murder of Archelaus, very soon after the end of the war, was followed by forty years of tumult: Macedonia fell back into a state of barbarism. At the time of the battle of Naxos the Illyrians and Thessalians ravaged the land from end to end, and the country was torn by factions.

368 Philip, the young prince who had been carried off to Thebes as a hostage by Pelopidas, remained there for three years and learned much. Six years after his return to Macedonia the Illyrians swept down from their mountains. There was a battle, and the king, Perdiccas, was slain; his son was a tiny child. Macedonia
359 was no kingdom for a child to rule. Philip, the baby's uncle, took up the task.

His first work was to create an army. A whole year was spent in incessant drilling and discipline. By the spring

Philip had ten thousand foot-soldiers and six hundred cavalry, both trained on the Theban plan, with improvements of Philip's own. The infantry were armed with long spears and arranged in a body known as the phalanx. In a great battle the Illyrians were completely defeated, seven thousand lying dead upon the field. Macedonia was soon cleared of enemies and made into a nation of soldiers devoted to their general. Next Philip wanted money. He laid siege to Amphipolis and 357
took the town. The gold mines there made Macedonia the richest state in Greece. All the Greek states had the greatest difficulty in paying for soldiers, but Philip now had a magnificent army and supplies of gold. Pydna and Potidaea soon shared the fate of Amphipolis: Potidaea Philip gave to the people of Olynthus, in 356
order to keep them his friends.

356 was a great date in Macedonian history, for in this year Philip's wife, an Epirot princess, gave birth to a son named Alexander.

In the next few years Philip perfected his army. He invaded Thessaly and won a great victory which made him master of the whole land. He now controlled the Thermaic Gulf and the Pagasaic Bay, and set about 353
building a fleet.

Macedonia was now the first power in Greece. Philip had made it a nation. When at the Pythian games (346) the aged Isocrates called on Philip to unite Greece and go forth against Persia, he voiced the king's deepest ambition.

But Greece had no desire to be led forth against Persia. Athens, the state which Philip most admired, feared and hated him. Demosthenes, the greatest orator of his day and a burning patriot, declared that they must resist Philip, no matter at what cost. In his fiery speeches—some of which are known as the Philippics—

he tried to rouse the Athenians to resist. They, however, did not see how they were to do it. They much preferred talking to acting, especially when action meant paying for soldiers. The treasury was empty, there was no money to pay for soldiers even had they wanted to do so.

Demosthenes declared that Philip was preparing to attack Athenian territory and called for war. Byzantium and Perinthus were stirred up to resist Philip. Philip laid siege to the two towns without success. An Athenian fleet under Phocion sailed to relieve Byzantium: Philip
340 had to raise the siege and evacuate the Chersonese. In twenty years he had met with no such reverse: it was a triumph for Demosthenes.

The triumph was short-lived. Philip gave up any hope of friendship with Athens. War remained. Demosthenes had asked for it: it came. Philip marched through the Pass of Thermopylae and seized and fortified Elatea. The news roused terror at Athens. On the advice of Demosthenes envoys were at once sent to Thebes to seek her alliance. At the assembly Macedonian envoys also arrived, for the same purpose.

The eloquence of Demosthenes won the day. An alliance between Thebes and Athens—at which he had aimed for years—was sealed.

Philip captured Amphissa and Naupactus, then,
338 turning south, he marched into Boeotia. At Chaeronea the army of the allies was drawn up, guarding the way to Thebes. There in August 338 one of the world's great battles was fought. It decided the fate of Greece and gave supremacy to Macedonia.

Philip had thirty thousand foot and two thousand cavalry, the finest in the world. The allies were equal in numbers, but in generalship there was no comparison. At the head of the Macedonian body-guard, facing the Theban Sacred Band, was Alexander, now eighteen years

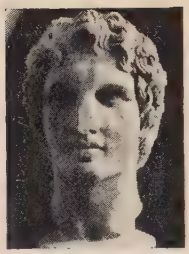
of age. The horsemen broke the Theban left. On the right the untrained Athenians gave way before the disciplined Macedonian soldiers. The Sacred Band stood firm until it was absolutely cut to pieces.

After the battle Greece lay at Philip's feet. To Thebes, which had turned against him at the last, he was ruthless. The Boeotian league was broken up. A Macedonian garrison was placed in the Cadmea and pro-Macedonian exiles put in power in all the cities.

To Athens, on the other hand, Philip showed great gentleness. He did not even enter Attic soil. Athenian prisoners were restored without ransom. Alexander brought the bodies of the slain with due honour to Athens. Oropus was taken from Thebes and given to Athens. But Athens had to join the new confederacy of Greece of which Philip was the head, and she had to hand over the Chersonese.

In the Peloponnese there was no resistance, but Sparta would not acknowledge Philip as head of Greece. He ravaged Laconia, but could do no more; Sparta was powerless.

Philip now invited all the Greek states to send delegates to a congress at Corinth, the first assembly of the new Hellenic Confederacy of which he was the head: all obeyed but Sparta. At the second meeting of this congress Philip laid before them his great plan—that of a Pan-Hellenic expedition against Persia. During the year preparations were made. In Macedonia 337
the army assembled. On the eve of Philip's departure for Asia great celebrations were held at Pella, ending in a magnificent procession in the great amphitheatre. As Philip entered the great hall, clad in his white toga, and looked around him, he may well have felt that he stood on the very pinnacle of fortune. At that very 336
moment the dagger of a conspirator struck him down.



X.
ALEXANDER THE GREAT

336 A THRILL of joy shot through the Greek world at the news of Philip's death. Demosthenes persuaded the Athenians to pass a decree of thanks to Philip's murderer. Thebes tried to expel her garrisons. Envoys sped post haste from all the states in Greece to the Persian court.

The rejoicing was brief, however: Philip's son had buckled on his corslet and ascended Philip's throne, a few moments after the murdered king's body had been borne away to his palace. Alexander, though but twenty years of age, had already shown a temper and powers that promised a man greater and more famous even than his father. Philip had had his son educated in all the branches of Hellenic culture. Alexander slept with Homer under his pillow; he was a master in all the arts: a consummate athlete; a soldier of matchless courage, daring, and sagacity; a born leader of men. Moreover, he was as beautiful as a young Apollo and the idol of his men.

The young king was surrounded by enemies: the Greeks were ready to rise, the Illyrians were openly in revolt, and there was an insurrection in Thessaly. A party in Macedonia declared for Philip's new queen Cleopatra and her infant son; Attalus, Cleopatra's father, had an army in Asia ready to support them.

Against these difficulties Alexander had his army and himself. In a year and a half he was absolute master in Greece and had already shown the highest

qualities of a general. First he marched into Thessaly by a route hitherto regarded as impassable, and the Thessalians acknowledged him without another murmur. The Thracians were thoroughly subdued; the Illyrians were completely crushed. While Alexander was still in the mountain fortresses, news came that his death had been reported in Greece. Thebes had rebelled, Athens was supporting Thebes.

In less than two days Alexander was before the gates of Thebes. The proud city of the seven gates was levelled to the earth, all save the house of the poet Pindar. Thebes ceased to exist. Athens hastened to make peace: Alexander, like his father, spared her for the sake of her glorious past.

Alexander was now ready for his great task. Greece was at his feet. He had an army even finer than his father's; his Macedonians regarded him as a hero who could do no wrong.

Before setting forth Alexander divided his army into four parts, and left one, under Antipater, to guard his kingdom. Then he divided all his royal wealth, all his revenues and forests, among his friends. When Perdiccas, one of his captains, asked him what he had left for himself, Alexander looked at him with a smile: 'Hope,' he answered.

In this spirit he crossed the Macedonian border in the spring of 334 at the head of forty thousand men, 334
and marched down to the Dardanelles.

The satraps of the great king had gathered an army of some forty thousand men to defend Asia Minor: they advanced to the river Granicus. Alexander attacked at once, dashing through the river at the head of his cavalry; the wild charge broke the Persian horse and drove it in flight. Then the phalanx, advancing, crushed their infantry with heavy loss. Alexander

was in the thick of the fray, fighting single combats like a hero before Troy. Few Macedonian lives were lost.

Lydia submitted. Alexander conquered Lycia and Pamphylia by marches and counter-marches. Miletus was captured; but before Asia Minor was thoroughly conquered the islands and coast towns must be subdued. For this a fleet was necessary. The Macedonian fleet was small. The Greeks, on whom Alexander had counted, sent no help; on the contrary they were only waiting for Alexander's defeat to join Persia. Rhodes, Chios, and Lesbos kept their ports open for the Persian, not the Macedonian admirals. A fleet so small as the Macedonian, and not commanded by himself, was of little use to Alexander. He boldly disbanded it, to the dismay of Parmenio and the other generals, and stranded his army in Asia. If he were defeated, his retreat would have been cut off. But Alexander knew that he was not going to be defeated.

Halicarnassus was taken after a long siege. Early in the spring Alexander swept inland. At Gordium, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Phrygia, he was joined by Macedonian reinforcements. Here there was a famous chariot, its yoke fastened by a knot: oracles had declared that the man who loosed the Gordian knot should be lord over Asia. Many had vainly tried, Alexander drew his sword and cut the knot. Then, by forced marches he swooped down on the Cilician Gates before the narrow pass had been guarded.

Darius was encamped at no great distance with a vast army. To Alexander's delight he left the wide plain
333 and took up a position among the narrow defiles of Issus. Although the Persian army was twenty times as numerous as the Macedonian, and included thirty thousand Greeks, Alexander had no fear.

The battle of Issus was an overwhelming victory.

Alexander directed his attack upon the spot where Darius himself stood in his war chariot. When the great king turned and fled the fate of the day was decided. Alexander pursued till nightfall, but Darius escaped. His mother and his wife and all his royal baggage fell into the conqueror's hands. Alexander treated the ladies with the utmost courtesy, but to Darius he wrote demanding his submission.

Alexander then turned back to Phoenicia, in order to crush the Persian sea-power. The cities of Phoenicia fell—Tyre after a long and brilliantly conducted siege— 332
and in the early winter Alexander entered Egypt, where he founded the great city of Alexandria, the greatest and most famous of the many cities of that name he made.

In late Roman times Alexandria became the first city of the civilized world, as Alexander had perhaps dreamed it would be.

Egypt was organized, as all the other conquered lands had been organized, so that they were conquered once for all; and in the spring of 331 he set off for Babylon. Darius, with an even larger army than that which had been defeated at Issus, was stationed at Arbela, to prevent the invaders from crossing the Euphrates. The great king was reported to have a million foot-soldiers and forty thousand horse, with chariots with scythes fastened to their wheels. The plain had been cleared of shrubs so that they might move easily.

Alexander charged at the head of his cavalry and 331
split the enemy's line. Then the phalanx moved forward, irresistible. As at Issus, Darius, in the centre, was terror-struck by the charge. He turned and fled with his Persian nobles, trampling down his own reserves in the rear. The victory was complete. Alexander was master of Persia.

Babylon opened its gates to the conqueror. Alexander treated the city kindly, the people were left free to follow their own customs, though Macedonian governors were put over them. Susa next was taken, with its immense treasures of every kind. Then, although it was mid-winter, Alexander pressed on. He feared that Darius might be collecting a new army.

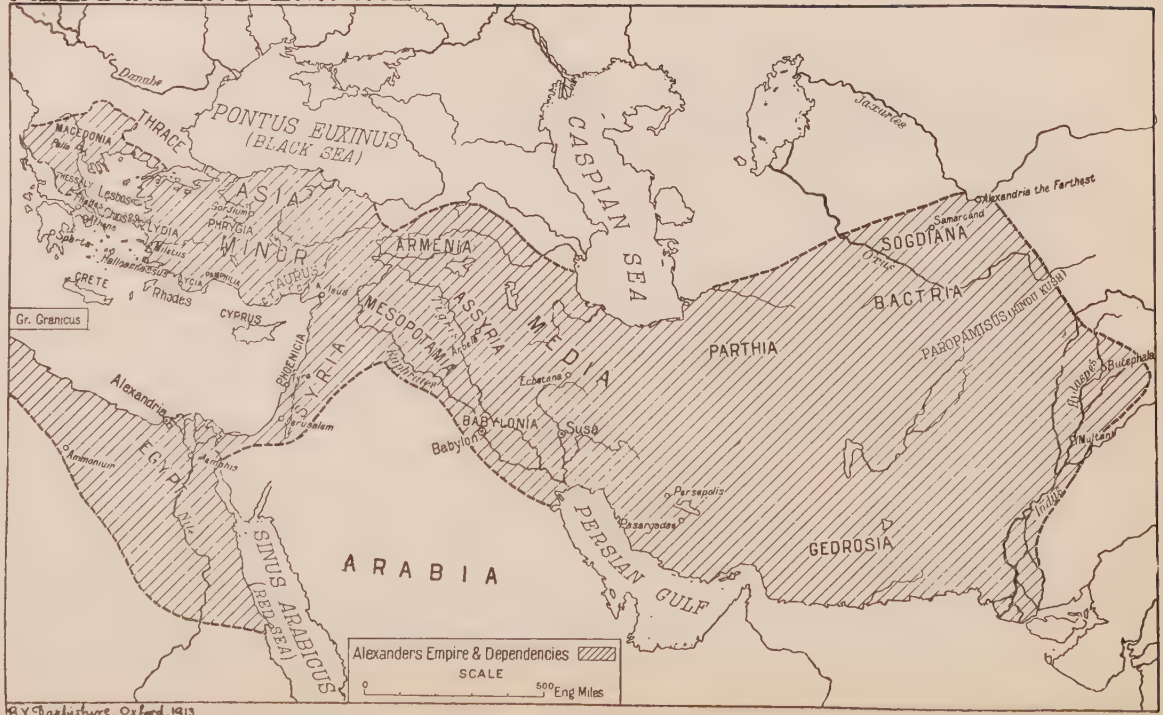
The region beyond Susa was unknown on Greek maps, which stopped at the Euphrates. Alexander's march was one of discovery as well as conquest. The entrance to Persia itself was barred by a narrow defile known as the Persian Gates. By a brilliant stratagem the pass was stormed. Persepolis, the oldest city in the world, was in the conqueror's hands. The treasury was overflowing with gold: an army of mules and camels was needed to remove it.

In the spring Alexander hastened after Darius, who was in Ecbatana. Swift as was his march, he arrived too late. Bessus, king of Bactria, had taken Darius prisoner. When Alexander found the great king, he was dead. At his last gasp, a Macedonian soldier had given him a cup of water. Alexander drew his own cloak over his enemy. His body was sent to the queen-mother, to be buried with due honours. Alexander then pursued Bessus, who had assumed the title of 'Great King'. Bactria was subdued, and another of the many Alexandrias founded to hold the country. This was part of Alexander's policy, for all his conquests were thoroughly made.

At the same time, since he now viewed himself as lord of the vast realms he was conquering, he treated the Persian nobles who submitted with honour, and gave them high places at his court. His army soon had thousands of Persians in it, and to please his new subjects the king sometimes appeared in Persian dress. He dreamed of

ALEXANDER'S route to the East. The plain of the Oxus, showing British troops crossing during the Great War

ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE



B Y Barthistwre, Oxford, 1913

making Greeks, Macedonians, and Persians into one nation. This was very far from pleasing to the Macedonians, since they looked upon all Asiatics as barbarians, in every way inferior to the Greeks. Even Aristotle had taught that it was the right of the strong to rule and to treat the weaker as slaves. Alexander thought that there was much the Greeks might learn from the Persians. At the same time he enjoyed the pomp and magnificence of an Eastern court, and began to adopt something of the manner of an Eastern sovereign.

This displeased his captains: some of them began to speak and even to plot against him. Among these was Philotas, son of Parmenio. Such plots were highly dangerous, and both Parmenio and his son were put to 329
death.

In the early spring of 328 the high mountain range 328
of the Hindu Kush was crossed. In the steep upland passes the cold was intense. The paths were blocked with snow and ice and swept by a piercing wind. There was great difficulty in getting food. At last they descended into the Bactrian plains. Bessus had fled across the Oxus, destroying all the boats. The army had to get across on skins stuffed with rushes. In Sogdiana the pretender was captured and executed.

Alexander still pressed on. His empire was to have the River Jaxartes as its northern boundary. He imagined, as did all the men of his time, that the farther shore of India was bounded by the ocean stream, which flowed round Scythia to join the Caspian and so enclosed the whole world. Of the existence of China they had no idea. Alexander meant to conquer the whole world before his day was done. He was not yet thirty. It seemed possible.

The warlike northern tribes, however, cost him much trouble. They were subdued after much hard fighting,

and at the top of the great natural road that passes through the mountains Alexandria the Farthest was founded as the northern limit of the Empire. The Scythians were defeated and pursued north. Then news came that the tribes of Sogdiana had risen. Alexander was dangerously ill. As soon as he recovered he pressed on by forced marches, under a burning July sun, to relieve Samarcand and reconquer Sogdiana. It was
327 thoroughly subdued, and Alexander took to wife a native princess named Roxana.

The dry heat of the summer and the want of water tried the army severely. The strong wine was bad for them and for their general. In a fit of drunken passion Alexander slew his foster brother Clitus at a feast. For three days he lay in his tent, refusing food and sleep, so terrible was his remorse. Of the captains who had come with him from Greece, few were left. In all the world there was only one man who now stood near the king: this was Hephaestion, who was dearer than a brother to him.

When the king set forth on the next stage in his mighty enterprise—the conquest of India—the army was divided. Hephaestion went on to make a bridge over the Indus, while Alexander marched through the hill country to the north. The hill folk fought well, but they
326 were defeated and their fortresses taken. In the spring Alexander turned south and marched towards the river Hydaspes. Porus, the prince of the land, was a very warlike and energetic captain: Alexander defeated him in a great battle (battle of the Hydaspes). Porus was nobly treated and made king under the overlordship of Macedon. Two new cities were founded, one named after Alexander's beloved horse Bucephalus, which died there.

Alexander meant to march through Northern India to the Ganges, which he believed to be the edge of the

world; but his army refused. Ever since they crossed the Indus, rain had fallen incessantly: their clothes were worn out, their arms were blunted; their bodies, like their general's own, were covered with wounds; their spirits, unlike his, were wearied. They had been away ten years, and longed for their Macedonian homes. Before them lay the Indian desert: they refused to go on. Alexander could not move them. For two days he refused to see the men; but they were stubborn. There was nothing for it but to go back.

At Hydaspes they were joined by Hephaestion. A fleet of transports had been prepared and conveyed most of the army down the river. At Multan Alexander was severely wounded in a skirmish. The soldiers thought he was dead, and their despair knew no bounds. The king had to be carried down in his bed to reassure them.

At the mouth of the Indus another Alexandria was built, and there Nearchus set sail with the fleet while Alexander took the army, thirty thousand strong, along 325
the coast. It was a terrible march, for they had to pass for three months through the hideous desert of Gedrosia. The land was barren: treeless and waterless: and the soft sinking sand intolerable to walk in. The heat was so burning that they had to march by night and went on, hour after hour, in search of some tiny spring. More men were lost in Gedrosia than in all the battles.

When they reached Susa Alexander found that nearly all his governors, whether Macedonian or Persian, had been misgoverning. He went up and down his huge domain, putting its affairs in order, planning trade routes and settling colonists. To bind the vast Empire together, a great festival was held at Susa at which hundreds of Macedonian officers and men took noble Persian ladies as their brides. Alexander gave each a

handsome dowry. He himself wedded Statira, daughter of Darius.

324 The summer and autumn were spent at Ecbatana, and there Alexander lost the dearest thing he had on earth—his friend Hephaestion. The whole Empire went into mourning. Alexander was inconsolable—he now stood absolutely alone. Hephaestion's body was embalmed and sent to Babylon, whither Alexander went to prepare for the new expedition which he planned against Arabia, in order to complete the conquest of the world.

At Babylon envoys gathered from the ends of the earth, from East as well as West. From Carthage, Spain, Etruria, Sicily, they came : only not from Rome.

A great fleet was building. Alexander reorganized the army, inventing a new arrangement of the phalanx.

323 The funeral of Hephaestion was celebrated with the highest pomp and all was ready for the start. Early in June a royal banquet was given in honour of the departure of Nearchus and the fleet. Alexander stayed up late that night and again the next. On the morrow he bathed early and fell into a fever. For six days the fever was on him, but he attended to business. Each day he arranged to start on the morrow. On the sixth morning his officers came to the palace and found him speechless. The army heard that Alexander was dead : they rushed to the doors and clamoured to see their king. The guards could not keep them out. They filed past the bed where their young emperor lay : he could not speak ; as each man passed he raised his eyes, that was all. The next evening he died, not yet thirty-three.

With Alexander's death, his mighty empire fell to pieces. For the next hundred and fifty years Greek history consists of wars between the different princes who seized parts of his great kingdom. Then another

power appears, which conquers Greece and the empire of Alexander and holds it under her sway. This was Rome. Few could have told at the time of Alexander's death that the centre of the world's stage was already moving to the solitary city which had sent no embassy to Alexander.

In after times the Romans used to discuss what would have happened if Alexander had ever attacked Rome. The city had, at this period, after severe struggles, made herself mistress of her own plain. She was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the hardy mountaineers of Samnium. There seemed little sign then of the greatness in store for her. To understand it, we must go back and trace the beginning of Rome.

Sarcophagus showing scene from the life of Alexander

ROME. View of the Forum and the Sacred Way seen through the Arch of Septimius Severus

PART III. ROME

I. THE BEGINNINGS OF ROME

The Romans believed that the earliest city which stood on the spot where Rome afterwards rose had been founded by Aeneas, one of the Trojan heroes. When the Greeks, under Agamemnon, lord of golden Mycenae, sacked the wide-walled city of Troy, Aeneas escaped. On his shoulders he bore his aged father, and he took with him his little son and his household gods. After many wanderings—the story of which was told by Vergil, a later Roman poet, in his great book the *Aeneid*—Aeneas and his men landed at the mouth of the river Tiber. He crossed the rapid current, all yellow from the mud it churned up, and after a battle with the people he found living there, made himself master over part of the land. He built a city called Lanuvium.

Rome itself was founded not by Aeneas, but by Romulus.

Romulus and his twin brother Remus had been put out to die as tiny infants by Amulius, who seized the throne from his elder brother, their grandfather. A wolf nursed the babes, and a shepherd found them and brought them up. When they grew to manhood they recovered the kingship. Romulus laid the foundations of the city which bore his name on the Palatine Hill. 753
There he built a temple to the father of gods and men—the god whom the Greeks called Zeus, the Romans Jupiter: and to Mars (Ares), whom he believed to

be his own father. The Romans had a story that when Romulus was full of days, his father Mars carried him up to heaven in a cloud.

Romulus was the first of the seven kings of Rome. The kings who ruled after him enlarged the city, built new temples, and added territory. Numa, beloved by the gods, a wise and gentle prince, added many temples. Among them was one to Janus, the god who looks both ways, to peace and to war. When there was peace in the city the doors of the temple of Janus were closed : in war they stood open. In Numa's reign they were closed, but seldom afterwards, for the Romans, like the Spartans, were almost always at war.

Tullus Hostilius, the next king, destroyed the neighbouring city of Alba Longa, and brought all its people to live in Rome.

Ancus Marcius built a bridge across the Tiber and made a port at Ostia, the mouth of the river. Rome, like Athens, was some miles from the sea.

Rome was growing, but the city was surrounded by neighbours much stronger than herself. The most powerful were the Sabines and the Etruscans. Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king in Rome, was an Etruscan prince. The Roman historians always said that Etruscan noblemen came to live in Rome because the city was growing great and wealthy, and that Tarquin was one of these, who was chosen king. But it is much more likely that Tarquin was an Etruscan conqueror. He did much for the city, however. He began a fine system of drainage which made the town more healthy, and also improved the countryside by carrying off the water which flooded the valleys when the Tiber overflowed its banks. The drains were so well built that parts of them can be seen to this day. On the Capitoline Hill Tarquin laid the foundations of a magnificent temple to

Jupiter. To it men came from all the country round He also began a vast race-course—the Circus Maximus—where games and contests were held every year.

Servius Tullius, who succeeded Tarquin, carried on his works. In his reign there was peace ; under him Rome was acknowledged as head of the League of Latin cities ; and a temple was built to the goddess Diana on the Aventine Hill, which belonged to all the Latins. This king also built a wall right round the seven hills. Servius Tullius counted the people and divided them into different classes : those of Roman birth were patricians, those who had come into the city from without were plebeians. Both classes had to serve in the army, but only the patricians were citizens ; only they had votes in the assembly where the people met to make laws. The patricians also had an assembly of their own called the Senate.

It was no part of the law of the Roman state that the kingship should pass from father to son. Nevertheless, when Lucius, the son of King Tarquin, grew up, he looked upon Servius Tullius with hatred and plotted to overthrow him. This younger Tarquin, who was called Superbus (the Proud) from his haughty and arrogant bearing, was married to Tullia, the daughter of Servius, who was now very old. The unnatural daughter joined in the plot against her father. When the aged king had been slain by Tarquin's men, Tullia drove her chariot right over his body. The street where this horrible deed took place was ever afterwards looked upon by the Romans as accursed.

Tarquin the Proud was the first tyrant to rule in Rome, and the last. He had won the throne by murder, and he held it by injustice. Fearing for his life, he went about everywhere with a body-guard. He threw men into prison and condemned them to death without caring

for the laws. The good laws of Servius Tullius were neglected. Rich and poor alike hated Tarquin for his pride and injustice.

One day something happened which alarmed the king and which none were able to explain. A serpent came out of a wooden pillar and ate the sacrifice that lay on the altar. Every one was so much alarmed that the king's two sons and a patrician named Lucius Junius Brutus were sent to Delphi to ask the priestess there for an explanation. The priestess only replied that he who first kissed his mother should rule in Rome. As they all landed on Italian soil, Brutus pretended to stumble and fall. Thus he kissed his mother earth.

The general hatred of Tarquin and his sons grew and grew. When young Tarquin insulted Lucretia, the beautiful wife of Collatinus, the friend of Brutus, this hatred burst into flame: the people rose against the tyrant. Brutus proposed that the family of Tarquin should be for ever exiled from the city, and so it was agreed. Tullia fled, and the Tarquins took refuge with the Etruscans.

It was declared that kings should no longer rule in Rome. In their stead two officers, called consuls, were chosen every year by the senate to lead the army and look after the affairs of state. They were to hold power for one year only. Lucius Junius Brutus was one of the first two consuls.

The property of the Tarquins was divided among the poorest citizens. The fields belonging to them at the bend of the Tiber were made into a public park for military exercises, called the Campus Martius.

Some of those who had been favoured by Tarquin plotted to restore him. The plot was discovered before any harm was done. Among the conspirators were the two young sons of the consul Brutus: all the conspirators were put to death. Brutus watched the execution of his

THE CLOACA MAXIMA, the great Roman drain which flowed into the Tiber

ETRUSCAN figures of the sixth century B. C.

two sons without any outward sign of grief. He was not only a father, he was the lover and servant of his country; he had made the first sacrifice to the new Republic of Rome.

The Republic had still to fight for its life. The Tarquins had fled to Etruria: and the Etruscans were glad enough to attack Rome. They had watched the growth of the league of Latin towns, of which Rome was the head, with great uneasiness. One of their chief princes, Lars Porsenna, ruler over the city of Clusium, collected an immense army and marched upon Rome. Tarquin and his sons were with him. The Romans were defeated in battle and besieged behind their walls; for long they held out. Many tales were told in later times of the heroic exploits of the defenders. At last famine compelled them to make terms. The Tarquins were not restored, but the lands on the right bank of the Tiber were handed over to them. Rome was subject to the Etruscans in fact if not in name.

Next the Sabines invaded their territory. The Latin towns which disliked the leadership of Rome took up arms. Tarquin put himself at their head. A great Latin host took the field against Rome. At Lake Regillus 498
a famous battle was fought. Tarquin was slain: the Latins defeated. The Romans believed that Castor and Pollux, the twin sons of Jupiter, had fought on their side. Anyhow, the day ended in a great victory for Rome, and the general built a magnificent temple to the twin gods. The day of the battle—July 15—was ever after held as their festival. On that day the knights, clad in purple garments and their brows bound with olive, rode in procession to the temple from the Campus Martius.

Danger from the Tarquins was over, but for nearly a hundred years there was no peace. Rome grew

slowly. She fought incessantly with the surrounding peoples: Volsci, Aequi, and Sabines. Sometimes they were defeated, but more often they were victorious. Once the Aequi nearly annihilated a Roman army. In the night they dug trenches round the camp and closed it in. Before the lines were quite complete, however, five horsemen made their way out and brought the news to Rome. There was dismay in the city. The senate called on Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus. When the envoys came to tell Cincinnatus that he had been made dictator—head of the state for the moment—they found him busy on the small farm of four acres, which was all the land he possessed, guiding a plough drawn by oxen. When he heard of the danger of the army, he at once called for his toga and went to Rome. There he ordered all shops to be shut and all the men of age to serve as soldiers (17 to 46) to assemble and arm themselves with stakes. By the middle of the night the Aequi were surrounded in their turn and fenced in
458 between two Roman armies. They could only surrender. Cincinnatus spared their lives, but compelled them to 'pass under the yoke'—the greatest disgrace to a soldier. Then, after a campaign of only sixteen days Cincinnatus returned to his farm.

So, year by year, Rome gained ground; she was not only constantly at war with the surrounding hillsmen, but was also engaged in a life-and-death struggle with her neighbours on the right bank of the Tiber, the people of Veii. The town was too strong for so near a neighbour.

Veii belonged to the great Etruscan league. But as Rome slowly rose, Etruria sank. The Etruscans had been all-powerful on the sea because of their alliance with the Phoenicians: but now the Greek town of Syracuse was rising as a naval power greater than theirs. In the

great year 480, when the Greeks defeated the Persians 480
at Salamis, the Syracusans defeated the Phoenicians in a naval battle off Himera. From that day the sea-power of the Etruscans failed. The Syracusans became masters of the Tyrrhenian Sea. In the south the people of Tarentum grew powerful in the Ionian and Adriatic waters.

Year after year the struggle between Rome and Veii went on. It was interrupted by long truces, and all the time Rome was busy with Aequi, Volsci, and Sabines. On the whole this fighting was successful. The Romans were full of belief in themselves and their country. It was this devotion to Rome which the citizens who fought for her felt, that was bound to give them victory in the end. The Etruscans had never made Etruria one country. Their paid soldiers could not fight as the Romans did.

A twenty years' truce with Veii came to an end in 405. The Romans were eager to end the war. Veii was besieged. Year after year passed, however, and Veii did not give in. Then, at the end of the ninth year, a really great soldier took the command. This was Marcus Furius Camillus, a stern but brilliant general. He caused a great tunnel to be dug by which the city could be entered from underground, while at the same time an assault on several points was made. Veii fell. The city was plundered and left a ruin: the inhabitants sold into slavery. Camillus had vowed a tenth part of the spoil to the temple of Apollo at Delphi. The senate decided to send a vessel of massive gold. As yet money was but little used, and in all the city there was not enough gold to make it. Thereupon the matrons came forward and each gave up her ornaments—rings, bracelets, and chains of gold—in order that the vow might be kept fitly.

The great men in Rome during these years were all soldiers. Horatius, who held the bridge against Lars Porsenna; Posthumius, the victor at Lake Regillus; Coriolanus, a brilliant captain in the wars against the Volsci; Cincinnatus, and Camillus. Constant war bred in the citizens a stern and hardy virtue. At a time when the Greeks were creating matchless works of beauty in literature, sculpture, architecture, and living in a manner as refined and cultivated as our own, the Romans were a rude and simple people. They were poor, their city was poor, their lives were spent in war and husbandry.

The Smith at his Armoury

II. ROME AND THE GAULS

During all these years of war difficulties did not only come from enemies outside the city, there were also troubles and disturbances within the walls.

The case of the poor was hard. The poor man could earn little when he had to go and serve in the army year after year. The enemy destroyed the farms and trampled down the fields. Food of all kinds was dear. Plague had broken out more than once in the city, and there had more than once been famine.

The law of debt in Rome was unduly harsh. If a poor man borrowed money he had to pay very heavily for it. Then if he could not pay back both the interest and the money he had borrowed within a settled time, the moneylender could seize and sell all his property—his little farm and his cattle, his shop or his tools: so that the means by which he lived were gone. If the property did not fetch enough to pay the debt, the moneylender could take the man himself, load him with chains, and cast him into prison. Then as time passed, and the debt of course was not paid, the lender could sell the borrower as a slave. Thus if a poor man once fell into debt his case was hopeless. The state did nothing to help him. The common land belonged in law only to citizens, and none but patricians were citizens. In the assembly where laws were made and taxes levied, none but patricians had a voice. The poor plebeians had no one to speak for them.

As long as the wars went on there seemed no help for the poor. At last, one year the men of a victorious army

returning from the Volscian war, instead of going into
493 the city to lay down their arms, posted themselves on the Sacred Mount outside. There, they declared, they should stay until something was done to redress their wrongs. Surrounded by enemies, Rome was helpless without her army. The senate gave way. The laws of debt were made less severe. The plebeians were given two magistrates of their own, chosen from their own ranks, to speak for them and look after their interests. These were the tribunes.

Things were made more difficult by the steady growth in the number of the people. Constant wars made the country-people anxious to come into Rome to be behind the city's strong walls. People from the conquered towns also came in. These new-comers were of course plebeians. Although the number of the plebeians grew, while the number of the patricians remained always the same, the plebeians had no share in the making of laws or in the choosing of magistrates. They did not even elect their own tribunes. They paid taxes, they served in the army, they did the building, road-making, and other public works of the state ; but the patricians alone were citizens.

The tribunes could stop any new law that seemed to them harmful to the people. They could do no more than that, however. They could prevent things from
471 being done, but they could do nothing. Even when, after 471, the plebeians chose their own tribunes, the tribunes could do little for them, because the laws were nowhere written down. No one knew exactly what the law was.

451 At last it was decided to send three senators to Athens to study the laws of the wise Solon. When the embassy returned, ten special officers were appointed to draw up a table or book of the law. These officers were known

as decemvirs. In the first year ten tables of the law were drawn up and set in the market-place where all might read them. Then Appius Claudius, the chief of the decemvirs, said that there were still two more tables to be prepared, and the decemvirs were appointed again. In this second year the decemvirs, especially Appius, ruled so ill that men began to say, not without cause, that they were aiming at tyranny. Women were insulted in the streets, and men thrown into prison and executed without trial if they tried to protect them.

An end came when the army rose, removed the commanders appointed by the decemvirs, and forced them to give up their posts. Appius was thrown into prison. 449
Valerius and Horatius, the new consuls, passed a law which gave the assembly of the plebeians power to share in the making of laws. Not long after it was at last made lawful for plebeians and patricians to marry—a thing which had always been forbidden before.

Suddenly a new danger threatened Rome. Within five years from the fall of Veii in 395, Camillus had brought all southern Etruria into the Roman power; but on the very day of the capture of Veii, the fortress of Melpum in the extreme north was captured by the Gauls, who destroyed it so utterly that no trace remained. In the next year they crossed the Apennines under Brennus their king, and poured down through the fertile valleys into Etruria.

The Gauls inhabited the land north of the Po. Although they belonged to the same race as the other dwellers in Italy their ways of life were wholly different. They were a wild wandering people, with no joy save in fighting and feasting. They had no settled abode, and during the last fifty years they had been pressing gradually farther and farther south.

Now they laid siege to Clusium, which barred their way; the people of Clusium called on the Romans for help. The Romans, however, were blind to the danger. Although a voice had been heard in the Sacred Way, which called out 'Beware! The Gauls are at hand', the senate paid no heed. Camillus, their wisest leader, had been charged with not dealing fairly with the spoil from Veii. The general had just buried his son. In the midst of his grief he scorned to defend himself and left the city.

Three envoys belonging to the great Fabian family were sent to Clusium. The Gauls refused to listen. They declared that they held, like the Romans, that might was right. The Fabii ought to have returned at once. Instead, they took part with the people of Clusium in battle against the Gauls. When the Gauls complained to Rome the senate paid no heed.

Thereupon Brennus led his army, one hundred and seventy thousand strong, against Rome. The vast host swept down the valley of the Tiber, harrying and plundering as it came, and shouting 'To Rome! To Rome!' Still the Romans were blind to the danger. The city was not fortified. The Gauls were only eleven miles from the gates when the army marched out to
390 meet them. On the river Allia they met. The Romans were altogether outnumbered. The wild charge of the barbarians, who came on with terrifying shouts, swinging great swords round their heads, swept them into the river. Hundreds were drowned. It was a crushing defeat. Those who escaped fled to Rome in wild confusion. They did not even stay to bar the city gates. They established themselves on the Capitol, trusting for safety to its tremendous, steep, rocky walls.

It was a day of shame, and the date was for ever afterwards regarded as unlucky in Rome.

The Gauls were astonished by their victory. For three days they feasted.

Meantime, in Rome all the men who could bear arms gathered on the Capitol, which they stocked with provisions. The old people, women, and children removed to the neighbouring towns; they took with them the vestal virgins who guarded the sacred fire which Numa had ordered to be kept burning for ever as a sign of the perpetual life of the city. Only the senators remained, seated on their ivory chairs in the deserted Forum, clad in their robes of white wool. There the Gauls found them when they rushed with wild shouts of triumph through the deserted city. At first they stared at them in astonishment. Then one stretched out his hand to stroke a long white beard. At that the senator struck him with his ivory staff. Thereupon the Gauls slew them and all others whom they found within the city. They pillaged and burned the houses, and ravaged the town and the country round with fire and sword.

When they tried to storm the Capitol, they failed. All through the hot summer months they besieged it, but it was too strong. In the hot days the northerners sickened. Food, too, was hard to get. As the months dragged on they grew weary. News came that Camillus was gathering an army. Other tribes too, they heard, were attacking the cities they had conquered in the north. They had come to plunder, not to settle: and it seemed that they had got all the plunder they were likely to win.

At last Brennus withdrew his army in return for a rich ransom. As the Gauls were retreating with their booty, Camillus came up and defeated them. For the time, they were gone: though they were to return again, often.

Camillus re-entered the ruined city. His first task

was to purify the whole of Rome: his next to rebuild it. This was the task of years, for temples and buildings were no more than so many heaps of charred stones.

The news of the sack of Rome had travelled all over Italy, and even reached the distant Greeks. Southern Etruria rose. There were risings among the towns of the Latin league. Camillus reconquered Etruria; and defeated the Latins so completely that all the cities which had left the league were compelled to rejoin it.

Camillus not only served his country in the field, he showed his wisdom in dealing with the difficulties at home.

It was easy for the rich citizens to rebuild their houses. For the poor, the sack of the city and the ravaging of the fields around by the Gauls meant long and lasting suffering. Land was hard to get. Wars meant heavy taxes: those who served in the army all the summer found work difficult to get in the winter; employers preferred slaves.

The poor plebeians might have had to suffer long had it not been that their discontent was now shared by many rich men who belonged to the same class. These rich plebeians felt it very hard that they were shut out from any share in the work of the state and the glory which that work brought, simply because their great-grandfathers had not been born Roman citizens. Only patricians could be consuls. That was the great hardship.

The consuls led the armies in battle, in peace they were at the head of the state. Many rich plebeians were the equals of the patricians in everything save the accident of birth. Yet no plebeian, however able or well educated, could rise to the high offices of state and win the honour that came from them. Mere wealth gave little honour in Rome. Thus the poor plebeians wanted the common land taken out of the power of the

patricians, and the rich plebeians wanted the great offices of state open to plebeians.

Year after year two tribunes, Caius Licinius and Lucius Sextius, brought forward a law by which (1) one consul should always be a plebeian, and (2) no one man was to be allowed to hold more than a certain amount (500 acres) of common land.

For nine years the law was rejected again and again. The senate refused to agree to it; the tribunes replied by stopping every other law that was brought in.

In the tenth year the discussions were interrupted. News came that the Gauls were again upon the march with an immense army. Camillus, although a very old man, was made dictator for the fifth time. In the Alban Plain he gained a great victory: the Gauls fled in confusion. Never again did the Romans feel the blind terror that had seized them at the time of the battle of the Allia.

When Camillus returned to Rome he found the senate 367
still discussing the bill of Licinius and Sextius.

Camillus was a patrician, but he saw, and made the senate see at last, that the time had come when it was for the true interest of the state that all good men in Rome should bear their share in its government. Many men who were now shut out would render valuable services if the law were passed.

Amid great rejoicing Licinius was elected first plebeian consul.

Near the Forum Camillus founded a temple to Concord, as a happy sign of the union of the orders.

III. SAMNITE WARS

The later Romans who wrote down the history of their city knew of the events of its earliest years mainly from legends and stories that were handed down from father to son, but after the time of Camillus real history begins.

For a few years there was peace. Etruria had been subdued, the Gauls had been beaten back; the Latin league was quiet perforce, although the cities were far from satisfied with the growing power of Rome. When Camillus defeated the Volsci, he made the river Liris the boundary between the Romans and their most powerful neighbour, the Samnites, and a bond was made with them.

Within the city itself the Licinian Laws had brought peace for a time: the temple of Janus might be closed.

The bond with the Samnites did not last long. The Samnites ruled all southern Italy, they dreamed of ruling over the whole land. Their territory was much wider than that the Romans held, their people were warlike and hardy. Among the lands over which they ruled was Campania, the richest plain in all Italy; Capua, the lovely city on the Campanian coast, was far more splendid and luxurious than Rome. The Capuan nobles lived softly and elegantly; they read Greek; their city was beautiful with its temples, theatres, and shops. In the south there were rich Greek settlements, among them Tarentum. But though the Samnite power stretched thus wide, this was its weakness: many of the lands over which they ruled were feebly held. The Greek cities

LOS ANGELES ... SEMINARY

quarrelled with the peoples of the south. There was nothing in common between the people of Campania and the hardy dwellers in the mountains.

A struggle was bound to come, to decide whether Rome or Samnium was to be first in Italy. In 343, five years before the great battle in which Philip of Macedon defeated the Greeks at Chaeronea, war broke out between Rome and Samnium and lasted for fifty-seven years, with two short intervals of peace. At the end of the war Rome was the first power in Italy. The struggle was a hard one. The Latin cities rose again and again, the Etruscans also, and joined the Samnites, and more than once the Romans were very hard pressed. In the end, however, they conquered. 343-290

In the first war the Samnites were defeated again and again. Then the Latin towns rose, and a great Latin army cut off the way by which the Romans were marching home. Only a victory could save them, for they were between two enemies. At Veseris, near Mount Vesuvius, the battle was fought. On the night before, the two consuls, Manlius Torquatus and Publius Decius, each dreamed the same dream. A man of more than human size and splendour appeared to them and declared that in the next day's battle one side should lose its leader, the other its army.

When the day came, Decius, the plebeian consul, rode straight into the ranks of the enemy and was killed at once. After this the Romans gained a great victory.

During the next two years the Latin and Volscian towns were taken one after another, and the whole district came under Roman power. The Latin league came to an end. Instead Rome was mistress, not leader, in Latium. Garrisons were put in the towns which had revolted; all of them lost the right they had had of voting in the Roman assembly.

The peace which ended the first Samnite war did not last long. The Samnites were busy arming and making ready, and in 327 war broke out anew. At first the Romans carried all before them, most of the towns on the Campanian coast were taken, and the armies marched as far south as Apulia, everywhere victorious, and plundering and harrying as they went. When the Samnites asked for peace the Romans refused. They were indignant with them for beginning the war.

At this the courage of despair came back to the Samnites and they armed for a desperate struggle. Success had made the Roman leaders careless, and so it happened that they were entrapped by the enemy
321 in the Caudine Pass. They found themselves surrounded on every side, and the whole army had to surrender and pass under the yoke—the bitterest shame that could be put upon Roman soldiers. But on the whole, things went against the Samnites; the Etrurians rose to help them, but they were utterly defeated by a general belonging to the great Fabian family, who plundered the
310 land far and wide and gained a crushing victory at the Vadimonian Lake, in a part of Etruria where war had never come before this day.

One after another the Samnite fortresses fell. At
305 last Bovianum, their capital, was taken by storm; this ended the second war. Campania and the southern provinces were held under Roman rule; the Samnites had nothing but their own Samnium left them.

Colonies were settled and fortresses built to guard the conquered lands. A magnificent high road—the Appian Way—was constructed, which ran from Rome, past Capua, through the ill-fated Caudine Pass and down into Apulia. Along this road soldiers could quickly be sent wherever they were needed. Trade also passed along it.

ROMAN YOUTH AND AGE

THE APPIAN WAY, the great highroad to the South of Italy. The ruins are the tombs of famous Romans. The paving in the foreground is original

A few years passed. Then news came from the north that the Gauls were once more on the move. With undefeated courage the Samnites seized their chance. 298
The third war broke out. In Gellius Egnatius they had a first-rate general. Although they were defeated in the engagements of the first two years of the war, in the third a great effort was made. Three new armies were equipped and put upon the field. The best of the three, led by Egnatius himself, passed the Roman sentinels and was well on the way to Umbria before it could be stopped. It was the plan of Egnatius to unite Gauls, Etruscans, and Samnites against Rome. From the north the Gauls flocked down to the Samnite camp at Sentinum; but the spirit of the Etruscans was broken. They did not rise.

Great alarm was felt in Rome. Although a rising in Lucania was crushed and the Samnite army in Campania defeated, two Roman armies in the north had been defeated by the Gauls, and the camp at Sentinum grew daily.

In Rome business was stopped. Those too old or too young to serve in ordinary times were enlisted. Fabius, the hero of the victory at the Vadimonian Lake, who had won the name of Maximus in honour of his many victories, was made consul for the fifth time. He belonged to one of the proudest and oldest families in the state, yet he asked that Publius Decius, a plebeian, should share office with him.

At Sentinum the armies met. The battle that took 295
place that day was one of the most renowned in Roman history. It lasted a long time, and the fighting was desperate. The charge of the Gauls was terrific; they swept upon the foe like a whirlwind, and the noise of their shouting could be heard many miles off. On the left wing, where Decius faced them, the day seemed to

be going against the Romans. Then Decius, remembering how his father had given his life for his country at Veseris, spurred his horse into the very heart of the fight; as he did so he called upon the gods to take his life and give the Romans victory. The deed fired his countrymen with new courage. Fabius brought up his reserves. The Samnites, hard pressed, gave way; Egnatius was slain. The Romans pursued the Samnites a little way, then turning, they attacked the Gauls in the rear.

The day ended in a complete victory for Rome: the Samnite army no longer existed. Nine thousand Romans lay upon the field, but the victory was worth the price. The Gauls retreated. Umbria was in Roman hands.

The Samnites were driven back into their own country; there they fought heroically, and in the year after Sentinum the Romans gained little.

293 In 293, however, Lucius Papirius won a great victory
290 at Aquiloneia; and three years later the war came to an end.

Rome respected a brave enemy. Though the Samnites lost all but Samnium, in their own land they were left free.

They had failed in their attempt to rule Italy: they had failed to check the growing power of Rome. Rome was stronger than ever. In all but name she was mistress of Italy.

Throughout the wars the senate had governed wisely and well. The Roman name stood high. Justice to enemies, fair dealing to friend and foe, devotion to their city and her glory—these were the marks of the Romans.

IV. ROME MISTRESS OF ITALY

SOUTHERN Italy was never wholly at peace, because of the quarrels for ever going on between the Italians of Lucania and Apulia and the Greeks who inhabited the cities on the coast.

When the Samnite war came to an end the Lucanians thought that their chance had come to destroy the hated Greek settlements. They seized several of the smaller towns and attacked Thurii, a flourishing city. The people of Thurii appealed to Rome. When the Romans sent envoys to the Lucanians, they were thrown into prison. The Lucanians, frightened by what they had done, then called upon the Senones, a Gallic tribe in northern Umbria, to rise. At the same time they made an alliance with the Samnites.

The Senones were allies of Rome. Nevertheless, they 289
swept down in hordes. Outside Arretium they cut a Roman army to pieces. Soon all the north was in arms.

The rebellion had started well, but its success did not last. A new Roman army under Dolabella entered the land of the Senones. The unhappy people learned 284
how dearly a victory over Rome must be paid for. They were utterly destroyed, and after that day there were no Senones in Italy.

The other consul meantime marched south. The Lucanians were crushed. Roman garrisons were placed in all the Greek towns except the rich idle city of Tarentum.

This was by no means what the Greeks wanted. When a Roman fleet, laden with provisions for the colonies,

dropped anchor in the harbour of Tarentum, the Tarentines suddenly attacked the ships, captured them, slew the officers, and sold the men into slavery. Soon after Thurii was taken.

This meant war with Rome. In terror the Tarentines turned for help to their native land.

The most brilliant general in Greece at this time was Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. After many adventures he was now firmly seated on his own throne, and Epirus was the foremost state in Greece. Then, like Alexander, Pyrrhus looked about for other worlds to conquer. When the Tarentines called, promising to pay all the costs of a war if he would only come, Pyrrhus agreed. He dreamed of an empire in the west as great as Alexander's.

281 Pyrrhus set sail in the winter despite the storms, which blew many of his ships out of their course. With him he brought twenty thousand Macedonian foot-soldiers —the best in the world—three thousand Thessalian horse, besides archers and elephants. In Tarentum nothing was ready. All the winter months had to be spent in discipline and drill. The theatres were closed and the whole town turned into a camp, to the disgust of the lazy Tarentines.

Great preparations were made in Rome when the news of the landing of Pyrrhus arrived. Three armies were put into the field. One marched south to attack Pyrrhus.

Pyrrhus had expected all the Greek cities to rise and join him, the champion of the Greeks. He thought that the peoples lately conquered by Rome would do the same. None of them did so, however.

Like most of the Greeks of his day, Pyrrhus knew nothing of the Romans. He looked upon the people of Italy as
280 barbarians. When he saw the Roman lines drawn up in battle array at Pandosia, he cried out in astonishment,

'These are no barbarians!' The battle was evenly fought. Seven times the Roman legions met the flower of the Greek army in the shock of battle, and neither yielded. At last Pyrrhus ordered a charge of elephants to be made. The Romans had never seen the monstrous beasts before: nor had their horses. The terrified animals turned and fled, for their riders could not control them.

The loss on both sides was very heavy; 2,000 Romans lay dead or wounded on the field, as many more were captured. At least 4,000 of Pyrrhus's men perished, and they were Greeks, trained in many wars, whom he could not replace. 'Another such victory,' he said, 'and I am ruined.' As he walked over the battle-field and saw the dead bodies of the Roman soldiers, with all their wounds in front, he exclaimed, 'Had I been King of the Romans, I should have conquered the world!'

The victory was dearly bought, but the Romans had to retreat, leaving Lucania to the victor. The Greek cities now opened their gates and the Samnites joined Pyrrhus. But the Latins stood firm; they would not join a Greek invader against Rome.

Pyrrhus sent an ambassador to Rome, but the senate sent him back. Rome would not treat so long as there was an enemy on Italian soil. The envoy told Pyrrhus that the senate seemed to him an assembly of kings.

Although Pyrrhus now tried to march on Rome, the way was blocked, and he had to retreat. In the spring another battle was fought in the south, at Asculum. Pyrrhus 279
was again victorious, but he lost three thousand five hundred men and was himself severely wounded. The way to Rome was still barred.

Two battles had been won by Pyrrhus, but he was matched against a nation that would not yield. Rome would stand firm and wear him out. He knew it. The Tarentines meantime grumbled much and did little.

At this moment the Greeks in Sicily called to Pyrrhus to help them against the Carthaginians. The Carthaginians were allied to Rome. Pyrrhus thought that if he conquered Sicily he might attack Rome from there, at the head of the united Greeks. He therefore crossed to the island.

Eastern Sicily was easily conquered by so able a general, and held with an iron hand. The Carthaginians, however, held Lilybaeum. After a year's useless siege, Pyrrhus returned to Italy. This was a mistake, for Sicily at once rose behind him.

275 At Beneventum Pyrrhus forced a battle on the Roman consul. The Romans gained the best of a hard-fought day, and in the end secured a victory because one of the elephants, maddened by a wound, turned round and rushed back into the Greek ranks. Hundreds were trampled to death. After the battle the Romans captured the camp. Four elephants were brought to Rome by the consul Dentatus, the first ever seen there. With the rich booty taken the senate built a splendid aqueduct which carried the water of the Anio to Rome.

After Beneventum Pyrrhus's army was gone. He could do no more. He sailed back to Epirus, where two years later he perished in a mean brawl.

The war was over. Tarentum had to give up its ships, pull down its walls, and pay war-taxes to Rome. A colony was placed in Beneventum, Samnium was no longer independent.

From north to south Rome was mistress over Italy, and Italy was now one country under her.

Mistress of Italy, Rome began to look beyond it. When she did so she found herself immediately face to face with the great power of Carthage—the Punic city, as the Romans called it.

Carthage belonged to the Phoenicians, whose navy

SYRACUSE HARBOUR IN SICILY

THE ROMAN NAVY. Scene of mimic warfare from Pompeii

had been so renowned throughout Greek history. Since the destruction of Tyre by Alexander, Carthage was the richest town in the world and the greatest trading centre: greater even than Alexander's own city of Alexandria, though Alexandria was growing fast.

The Carthaginian navy ruled the seas. Even on the Tyrrhenian Sea no Roman ship might sail. Corsica and Sardinia belonged to Carthage. She had settlements in Spain. The silver mines of Gades were hers. All the west of Sicily was hers. As Pyrrhus left Sicily he cried, 'What a fighting ground for Romans and Carthaginians I am leaving!'

So it proved. Ten years after the battle of Beneventum 265
the people of Messina appealed to Rome against the Carthaginians, who had seized their citadel.

The senate debated long. To give help to Messina meant war with Carthage. Carthage was very strong. On the other hand, if the Carthaginians held Messina, they might use it as a bridge to Italy. At last the senate put the 264–241
matter before the whole people. The people voted for war.

War began, and lasted for twenty-three years.

The Romans took Messina. Hiero of Syracuse joined them. They laid siege to Agrigentum, and captured it after some six months' blockade.

This success encouraged the Romans. They saw, however, that to defeat Carthage they must have a fleet. Hitherto they had had no ships, and had never built one. Nevertheless, with remarkable courage and energy they at once began to build. They copied a Carthaginian vessel that had been driven ashore. While the shipwrights were busy, the men practised rowing on the dry land. In the summer the first Roman fleet was launched. 260

One or two skirmishes took place. Then at Mylae the fleet under Duilius came up with the main body of the enemy. The Carthaginians despised the raw

Roman fleet and charged at once. As soon as their ships came near, however, the Romans employed a new device which their captains had invented. Each vessel had what was called a 'crow' attached to it, the crow being an iron spike on a long pole, which was swung round as soon as the enemy came near enough and driven into the side of the vessel. In this way the ship was held fast, and the Roman crews then ran along a bridge and so forced the enemy to fight hand to hand. Though the Carthaginians were better sailors, the Romans were better soldiers. Mainly owing to their clever use of the crows, the Romans defeated the Carthaginians and captured fifty ships.

The news of the first naval victory caused great rejoicing in Rome. Two years later a great effort was made, and a fleet of 330 vessels set out under the two consuls, Manlius and Regulus, to attack the Carthaginians in
256 Africa. On the way they met the Carthaginian fleet at Ecnomus and gained another victory, although their fleet was smaller. Then sailing on, they landed in Africa itself. When winter came on Manlius was recalled to Rome, but Regulus remained in Africa and advanced step by step, ravaging and destroying the country. A Punic army sent out to meet him was utterly defeated, mainly owing to the stupidity of its generals.

When Regulus advanced on Carthage the people were so terrified that they offered to make terms. The terms Regulus asked, however, were too severe. The Carthaginians refused them. At the same time they had discovered a really skilful general, a Spartan named Xanthippus. Xanthippus drilled the soldiers and
255 advanced boldly to meet Regulus. The Romans were utterly defeated, Regulus himself was captured, thousands were slain or made prisoners.

A fleet of 350 vessels sailed from Rome to rescue those

who had escaped. On the way home it was dashed to pieces by a terrible storm off the south coast of Sicily. All save eighty vessels were destroyed.

With undaunted courage the Romans built a new fleet. In a marvellously short time Cornelius Scipio sailed out with 300 new ships and took Panormus, one of the best harbours in Sicily. As the fleet returned another storm 254
arose, and 150 ships were lost.

For the moment the Romans were exhausted. The Carthaginians were masters of the sea. Had they made a great effort they might have ended the war, but they did nothing. The Romans overran all Sicily except Lilybaeum and Drepana. Thereupon the Carthaginians sent envoys to propose peace. The hapless Regulus was 251
among the envoys, but he urged his countrymen to go on with the war. He knew that the Carthaginians would kill him when he returned. Honour obliged him to return. He was slain after horrid tortures.

The Roman spirit was unshaken. Another fleet was prepared. The siege of Lilybaeum was begun. For a year little was gained by either party.

In 249 Claudius, the consul, sailed away from Lilybaeum 249
and attacked the Carthaginians off Drepana. He was utterly defeated, ninety-three vessels were captured, only thirty returning to Lilybaeum. Claudius killed himself rather than endure his disgrace. A few months later another Roman squadron, carrying stores to Lilybaeum, was dashed to pieces.

It was a dark year for Rome. Lilybaeum held out. The sea was again in Carthaginian hands. The Romans had lost four great fleets: four armies had perished almost to a man. In five years a sixth of the population was lost. Yet in Rome they held doggedly on.

The Carthaginian government was not filled by the Roman spirit; they neglected the fleet, although they

were immensely rich. They did not trust the really brilliant general who had appeared in Hamilcar Barca. Hamilcar captured Mount Hercte in Sicily and held it, in spite of all the Romans could do. For six years nothing was done save skirmishing in Sicily.

The Roman treasury was empty. The state could do no more. A number of rich men came forward. They sold all they had and got together a fleet of 250 vessels, with 60,000 men to man them. When the fleet was ready it was presented to the state. Lutatius Catulus, the consul, felt it an honour to command such a navy.

Catulus, sailing out, found the harbours of Drepana and Lilybaeum empty and undefended. Both were occupied, and the siege of Lilybaeum went on again in earnest. For a year the Romans were masters of the sea; and when a Carthaginian fleet at last appeared,
242 it was no match for the Roman navy. Catulus threw his ships across their route at the Aegatian Islands and compelled them to fight him. The Carthaginians were completely defeated. The Roman ships were better, their sailors were better, every man in the fleet was full of the patriotism that had made it. Seventy Punic vessels were captured, fifty sunk.

The war was at an end. Drepana was taken. Hamilcar, though undefeated, could do nothing. Peace was arranged.

Sicily was Roman henceforth, with its magnificent corn supply. The Carthaginians lost the command of the sea. They had to pay a huge ransom to Rome and send back all prisoners free.

Rome had won her first possession outside of Italy.

Very soon after the conquest of Sicily, Rome acquired first Corsica and then Sardinia: these were valuable conquests. They made Rome, instead of Carthage, mistress in the Tyrrhenian Sea. They also gave her another rich corn supply for her future population.

V. HANNIBAL

In the years that followed the first Punic war the Gauls again invaded Italy. They were defeated in a great battle near Telamon. Then the Romans carried 225
the war into the enemy's country. One tribe after another was subdued. Mediolanum, the chief town of the Gauls, was captured. South of the river Po the Gauls were wiped out. Roman colonies and fortresses were planted in the conquered territories. The lands were divided into lots and given to Roman farmers. Flaminius laid down a great highway which bore his name—it ran across the Apennines, from sea to sea. The Via Flaminia held the north, as the Via Appia guarded the south.

At the same time there was war off the coasts of Illyria. Pirates plundered on both sides of the Adriatic, and were a great pest to Roman and Greek merchants. The Romans sent an expedition which crushed the pirates, with the help of the Achaeans and Aetolians. When the war was over Roman envoys went to Athens. There they were received with the greatest honour. In Athens they saw much that stirred them deeply. From this time on, educated Romans were greatly influenced by Greece.

It might well seem to the Romans that their city had risen to such greatness that they might now expect long years of peace. In Italy her rule stretched from north to south, from the Alps to the sea. Her ships ruled the seas and brought corn and other supplies to Rome. Abroad there seemed nothing to fear. The power of Carthage was broken, the Gauls had been driven back across the mountains, the Illyrians harassed the coasts no more.

At home the government was settled. The strife of classes was at an end. Plebeians and patricians worked together in the service of the state. The farmers were prosperous. Roads had been laid down to assist trade. In Rome itself fine temples and other buildings were rising.

It seemed impossible that any great danger threatened. No Roman knew, or had he known would have cared, that in Spain a boy was growing up in whose heart an unsleeping hatred of Rome had grown with his growth; who was preparing, day by day, an army which was to bring the city nearer to utter ruin and defeat than it had ever come.

This was Hannibal, son of that Hamilcar Barca who had fought so brilliantly in Sicily.

The stupid Carthaginian government did not know how to use Hamilcar. Vainly did he try to stir them up to continue the war against Rome. He failed. But although they accepted defeat and dishonour, Hamilcar did not. He was so true a patriot that he resolved to save his country whether she would or no. After putting the affairs of Carthage in order, and training and disciplining the army, Hamilcar set sail for Spain. Before he left his country he vowed on the high altar never to
238 be friends with Rome. His son Hannibal, then nine years old, shared his vow.

As soon as Hamilcar landed he began the conquest

A ROMAN FOOT-SOLDIER
Musée de St. Germain-en-Laye

A ROMAN HORSE-SOLDIER
Musée de St. Germain-en-Laye

of Spain. In nine years all the southern part of that rich country was Carthaginian. Hamilcar governed admirably. He encouraged agriculture; he built towns, the most important being the splendid port of New Carthage, which guarded all the south. He taught the people to work the valuable mines; he created a magnificent army. During all these years Hamilcar's home was the camp. In the camp his three sons, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Mago, were brought up. Under their father the boys learned skill in all military exercises, and a hardihood, courage, and endurance that nothing could subdue. Far the most brilliant of the three was Hannibal. His father's eye had marked him out to carry on his work. When Hamilcar was killed on an expedition to the north, Hannibal, then nineteen, was made leader of the cavalry; seven years later he was commander of all the Carthaginian forces in Spain.

To defeat the Romans was the ruling purpose of Hannibal's life. He knew both Greek and Latin, and had thoroughly studied the Roman methods of war, the ways of the Roman people and of the peoples of Italy. In Spain he had men and money in abundance. He was himself a magnificent general, patient as well as brilliant, as great in defence as in attack; and the idol of his men.

In 220 everything was ready. The Romans guessed at no danger, even when Hannibal besieged Saguntum, a Greek town allied to Rome, and captured it brilliantly; 219
they only sent ambassadors to Carthage.

The Carthaginians refused to give up Hannibal. This meant war.

In the spring of 218 Hannibal left New Carthage with 90,000 foot, 12,000 horse and 37 elephants, and set forth on the invasion of Italy. His plan was to march through 218
northern Spain, over the Pyrenees, along the Rhone,

and then over the Alps, down into Italy. This plan he carried out, after terrible hardships, with complete success.

The cities of northern Spain were subdued after several months of hard fighting, and part of the army left in the country to guard it.

The Romans still did not realize the enemy with whom they had to deal. Hannibal defeated the Gauls and crossed the Rhone—a wide, deep, and swift river—before the Roman army under Scipio came up with him. Only the Alps lay between him and Italy.

No regular army had ever crossed the Alps. The season was growing late. In the winter the mountain paths were impassable. If the Romans had succeeded in delaying Hannibal, he could not have crossed. As it was, this crossing was a wonderful feat. The way up was a narrow mountain track, difficult for men, still more difficult for horses, and almost impossible for elephants. Unfriendly tribes harassed the army incessantly as they toiled up the steep slopes. Javelins and stones were thrown down in showers from the high rocks. The horses, terrified, lost their footing, slipped, and fell down to the precipices below, or ran back among the beasts of burden and broke the line. Heavy boulders, too, were rolled down. The way itself was steep, exhausting, and most perilous—especially for the baggage train. Nevertheless, they held on their way.

At the end of the tenth day in the mountains the summit of the pass was reached. Hannibal revived the drooping spirits of his weary men by pointing out where, far below them, lay the rich and shining plains of Italy.

In some ways the descent was even more terrible than the ascent. Although they met no enemies it was well on in October. The first snow had fallen on the top of last winter's snows, which at that height never melted

quite away. The track was very narrow and very steep, and any one who missed it was shot down the sheer precipices at either side. In the snow the men could not see where they were placing their feet. They went through the soft snow to the ice-hard snow underneath, which gave no foothold. If a man stumbled he was lost. A path had to be cut out, at one place, on the face of the hill, for the track had fallen away and the elephants could not move at all. The poor beasts were almost dead of cold and hunger. There was nothing for them to eat, and their feet, like those of men and horses, suffered terribly.

At last the bottom was reached. It was five months since the army had started. Their numbers had shrunk to 20,000 men and 6,000 horse. Their clothes and boots were in rags, their weapons rusted, their bodies wasted by cold, privation, and fatigue. Had a Roman army been waiting for them, they could hardly have hoped to defeat it. But no Roman army was there. Oct. 218

Hannibal took Turin. There his weary men could rest and refresh themselves.

Two Roman armies were approaching: a small one under Scipio, and a larger one under Sempronius. On the river Ticinus Hannibal defeated Scipio. The general's life was only saved by the courage of his youthful son, then serving for the first time. Two thousand Gauls deserted to Hannibal. Hannibal knew that thousands more would join him after a big victory. He was therefore eager for battle with Sempronius. He led the Roman general into a bad position, and on the river Trebia defeated him completely. 218

All Gaul rose in arms. Italy north of the Po was in the hands of the invader. Hannibal went into winter quarters, and busied himself with training the Gauls and forming them into new regiments.

217 In the spring Rome had two fresh armies in the field. One was led by Gaius Flaminius, the builder of the Flaminian Way and the idol of the people. Flaminius, as Hannibal knew, was eager for the glory of defeating the invader: he was impatient and hot-headed—no match for the great Carthaginian. Hannibal crossed the Apennines before the Romans began to move. The mountains were covered with melting snows, the plains were flooded. The men suffered acutely. All the elephants perished save one. Hannibal himself lost an eye. But the Romans were completely outmanœuvred. Flaminius was furious and followed Hannibal in hot haste into the trap laid for him. The lake of Trasimene is reached by a narrow road that passes between mountain ranges and then runs close to the shore of the lake, with a narrow strip of marshy land between it and the hills all round the lake. Late in the evening Hannibal concealed his cavalry and slingers on the slopes of the mountains that close in the pass on either side; the main body he posted on the ridge above the lake. When Flaminius led his men into the pass a thick mist hung over the lake and hid the enemy completely from his view: as soon as the whole of the Roman army had marched in, Hannibal gave the signal. Instantly his men closed in upon the doomed army. Taken on every side at once, and wholly unprepared, the entrapped army was cut to pieces. Fifteen thousand men fell, and as many were taken prisoner. Two days later a body of 4,000, sent by the other consul to assist Flaminius, were also captured.

The disaster was complete: a great army had been utterly lost, with its commander. Fabius Maximus, now an old man, was made dictator Etruria and Umbria were in the invader's hands, but the towns closed their gates upon him. Hannibal marched south.

In Apulia his men could recover from the hard trials of the last year

Fabius brought his army into the field, and for a whole year he carried out a plan that he had formed of wearing Hannibal out by delay. The Romans hated the plan at the time: but afterwards they said that Fabius had saved the state. At the end of the year 217 Hannibal had certainly gained little. At the same time he had not yet been defeated. There was a party in Rome which clamoured for battle. Varro, one of the new consuls, belonged to this party. The other consul, Aemilius Paullus, was an experienced soldier, and much more cautious. The army they led was the largest that 216
Rome had ever yet put into the field: 80,000 foot and 6,000 horse. Unhappily the two generals quarrelled, and finally agreed to take the command on alternate days.

Hannibal had taken up a magnificent position in the plain of Cannae: one especially good for his cavalry. Nevertheless, Varro insisted on fighting.

Cannae is one of the world's great battles. It was the greatest defeat that the Romans ever sustained. The charge of the legions drove right through the Carthaginian centre; but it drove too far. The Carthaginians turned and closed in so that they attacked the Romans on both sides, then cut them down in hundreds. On the wings the Roman cavalry was thrown into wild confusion. All over the field the defeat became a rout, flight was impossible; mercy was neither asked nor given. Never was so great an army as the Roman so wholly destroyed. Hannibal lost only 6,000 men, but of the Romans who fought in the battle 70,000 lay upon the field. Among the dead were Aemilius Paullus and the flower of all the noblest families in Rome. Varro alone of the higher officers escaped. He worked

hard to gather up the poor remains of the splendid army.

Rumours soon reached Rome of the great disaster. There was no family that had not lost son, father, or husband. The city had neither army nor general. The way seemed open to the invader.

But at this dark moment the Romans showed themselves truly great. Party hatreds were forgotten, even sorrow for the dead was not allowed to fill the minds of mourners when every thought was needed for their country. When Varro came to Rome to report what he had done after Cannae those who before had justly blamed him uttered no reproach. Instead, the senate and people went in procession to meet him at the city gate. There, in the presence of all, he was thanked because in spite of defeat he had not despaired of the Republic.

Even after Cannae Rome was unconquered. The Italians did not rise, Latium and Etruria made no move. Capua opened its gates to Hannibal, and the Samnites joined him: that was all. The Roman colonies stood firm, and sent men and money to Rome of their own free will.

Unless help came from Carthage, Hannibal could do no more. He had done his part. In less than three years he had destroyed three great Roman armies. He had marched from north to south in Italy, conquering and destroying. No Roman general had been able to stop or hinder him. He sent his brother Mago to Carthage to ask for reinforcements but none came.

The temper of Rome was very different from that of Carthage. There, rich citizens came forward and lent money to the state to equip new armies. The patricians and men of means refused all pay. Those who could provided horses and armour at their own cost. No one grumbled at the heavy taxes, no one despaired of the Republic.

THE VIA FLAMINIA, cut in the rocks on the left of the Pass, for which Hasdrubal was fighting

THE METAURUS river. Site of the battle and defeat of Hasdrubal

'The richest silver mines in the World.' A Roman mine

Hannibal knew that a single genius could not quell 215–203
a whole nation. Yet for twelve more years his genius and the unconquerable army he had made held the whole might of Rome at bay. Army after army was sent out, many first-rate generals took the field against him; yet, though Hannibal was gradually driven farther south, he was not conquered. Capua was lost, a rapid march on 211
Rome failed, Tarentum was taken and lost again. The Romans reconquered Sicily, where Hannibal's allies had risen, and Marcellus, an excellent general, took Syracuse after a three years' siege. But in Spain the Roman 215–212
armies, under Publius and Cornelius Scipio, were defeated, and both generals slain. Hannibal remained in southern Italy. Rumours reached Rome that from Spain Hannibal's brother Hasdrubal was at last bringing him help.

Publius Cornelius Scipio, who had saved his father's life at the Trebia, had at his own request, though only twenty-four, been sent as general to Spain to avenge the 210
deaths of his father and uncle and prevent Hasdrubal from coming to his brother's aid. Scipio's first exploit was brilliant, for he captured New Carthage, and with it the richest silver mines in the world. But he failed to prevent Hasdrubal from crossing the Pyrenees. By forced marches Hasdrubal got away and spent the winter among the friendly Gallic tribes. In the spring he crossed the Alps by a pass less steep than that used by Hannibal and in weather less severe. He was in Italy before any one expected him.

But the horsemen he sent south to bring the news to Hannibal that he was coming, lost their way and were captured and brought before the Roman general, Claudius Nero. The other general, Livius, was at Sena. Claudius at once marched to join him. He had fought Hasdrubal in Spain and knew that one Roman army

might not be enough to defeat this true brother of Hannibal. On the Metaurus the armies met. Hasdrubal's men were weary with long marches, outnumbered,
207 taken in a bad position on the high banks of a winding river. Nevertheless, for long the battle raged without advantage to either side. At last a detachment of Nero's men came up from behind a hillock which had cut them off from the main battle.

This decided the day. Hasdrubal and his men fought on, but they were enclosed. Hasdrubal showed heroic courage, but when he saw that there was no longer any hope he charged into the centre of the enemy and met the fate of a soldier sword in hand. Ten thousand of his men shared his fate.

Nero returned to Venusia. There he threw the bleeding head of Hasdrubal in front of his brother's lines. Hannibal had heard no news. When he saw the bleeding head he knew that the fortune of Carthage was at an end. For a moment he hid his face in his mantle.

For four years more he held his ground in southern Italy like a lion at bay. The remnant of his army remained unshakably devoted. No Roman army, no Roman general was able to defeat him or to force him to leave Italy. When he did leave it, after sixteen years of ceaseless war, it was because the needs of Carthage called him home.

Scipio completed the conquest of Spain. When he
205 returned home the people demanded that he should be made general to carry on the war. It had been decided to attack Carthage in Africa.

In 204 Scipio landed at Utica. He found a great Carthaginian army in the field, so large that for months
204 he could do nothing against it. All that time, however, his men were spying out the plan of the enemy's camp. One dark night they set fire to it. Hundreds perished

in the flames. More were killed in the panic than in a battle.

Within a month another Carthaginian army was collected. Scipio defeated it in battle, with the aid of his Numidian allies. The way to Carthage lay open. 203
Thereupon ambassadors were sent to Italy to call the greatest living general to the city's aid.

Hannibal was no nearer to defeat than he had been four years before. But now the country that had so often refused to help him, called on him. All he had won was gone for nothing. His brilliant victories and long endurance were fruitless. Carthage, which might have conquered Rome, was threatened, by her own fault, with disaster. Hannibal was too great for regrets or reproaches. His ships were ready and he embarked. Thirty-six years before he had left his country as a boy of nine years old: he had marched, conquering, through Spain, Gaul, and the whole of Italy in order to return to it.

In Africa he at once gathered an army, drilled his new soldiers, and made alliances with the Numidian princes. At Zama he pitched his camp and a few days 202
later a battle took place there which ended the war once for all. It was a complete victory won by the Roman soldiers. The raw Carthaginian levies were no match for them, and though Hannibal's veterans did not yield an inch but all fell fighting where they stood, they were too few to turn the fortune of the day.

Twenty thousand men fell fighting on the Carthaginian side and nearly as many were captured. Hannibal's camp was taken by Scipio.

There was nothing left but to ask for terms. The Carthaginians could not collect another army. Hannibal always saw things as they were: he knew this was the end.

Scipio's terms were not unworthy of Rome and the great man against whom she had fought. Carthage was left a nation and free. She had to pay a heavy sum of money. All her foreign possessions were taken from her. She might only keep twenty ships and wage no war except by Rome's permission. This was hard, for the Numidian tribes were sure to harry the country: but Hannibal plainly told his countrymen that they might be thankful that the terms were not harder.

The Hannibalic war was at an end. Spain was a Roman province. Sicily was wholly Roman, for Syracuse had been taken by Marcellus. The tribes of Africa looked to Rome, not to Carthage, as their overlord. Carthage, once a great world-power, was now a mere city. Rome was mistress of the Mediterranean. She had not started the war for the sake of conquest: but when it ended she was the strongest power in the western world. Hamilcar had seen, when Rome seized Sardinia, that she would go on to attack Carthage. He and his greater son knew that there was room for one power only in the Mediterranean. They had tried to make that power Carthage and not Rome. Hannibal failed because of the weakness of his nation and its government. He is himself a heroic figure, and the failure of his great attempt is tragic; but for the world that came after, the victory of Hannibal would have been a greater tragedy than his defeat. The Roman people had more to give the world than the Carthaginians had.

In Italy there was peace at last, but the country had suffered severely. In Rome a quarter of the whole roll of citizens had perished during the war. More than 30,000 men had fallen in battle. The senate lost half its number. Four hundred towns and villages had been destroyed. In every direction the fields lay wasted. It took the country long to recover, and when it did, a change had

come over it: the old simple ways of life disappeared for ever.

But for the moment there was no feeling but rejoicing in the peace. As Scipio made his way from Rhegium to Rome the people hailed him as the saviour of his country: the man who had defeated Hannibal. When he reached Rome he entered the city in triumph and laid his wreath of laurel and olive in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol.

An Italian Vase of the third century B.C., showing elephants of Pyrrhus or Hannibal

VI. BEGINNING OF AN EMPIRE OVERSEAS

Rome had not set before herself any purpose of conquest. The conquests that had been made, however, had to be held. As Rome became more and more clearly the first power in the world, both by land and sea, the republic was drawn into the quarrels of remote states everywhere. In the fifty years that followed the battle of Zama, the power of Rome gradually spread over Sicily, Spain, Greece, Asia, and Africa. These possessions beyond the seas led to great changes in the life of the people of Rome.

Rome was drawn to the east in two ways.

First, educated men in Rome began to be busy with Greek literature. Men like the Scipios read the plays, the poetry, and the philosophy of the Greeks, with deep admiration. A circle of writers began to appear in Rome: these writers drew their inspiration from Greece.

Secondly, Rome was drawn into the Greek world by Hannibal. His far-seeing eye had travelled over the known world in search of allies in the war against Rome. He had seen in Philip, king of Macedon, a monarch of much ambition and no little ability, and had made an alliance with him. Philip, however, was both jealous
205 and lazy. Three years before the battle of Zama he made peace with Rome. Nevertheless, Philip did not long remain at peace. He dreamed of making Macedon as great as it had been under Alexander. He formed a bond with Antiochus, the Great King of Asia, and
202 suddenly sacked two Greek cities, Cius and Chalcedon.
200 Philip then destroyed Abydus. Next he turned to

Attica: ravaged the land and attacked Athens. The news of this act was received with indignation in Rome. The senate saw clearly that Rome could not look on and let Macedon grow as powerful as Philip wanted to make it. Still less could she allow Greek cities to be destroyed in time of peace. Thus, though the people were weary of war, an army was sent out to Greece.

Little was done in the first year. Quintus Flamininus, 198
who was sent out in 198, was full of eager admiration for everything Greek. He defeated Philip in a great battle in the Antigoneian Pass, which barred the way into Macedonia. When Philip offered terms, Flamininus declared that he must give up all claims to rule in Greece, and hand over the three fortress towns known as the Fetters of Greece—Demetrias, Chalchis, and Acrocorinthus.

Philip refused, and the war went on again. In the next 197
year Flamininus gained another victory at Cynoscephalae in Thessaly. Philip fled; the war was over.

At the great games held in Corinth, Flamininus came 196
forward and declared, amid the shouts of the people, that Greece was free. The people were to pay no tribute and have no garrisons.

Macedonia was left independent, but Roman garrisons were placed in the Fetters.

Rome had freed Greece. The Romans felt full of pride in the act, but the settlement made by Flamininus could not last. He and the Romans still thought of Greece as it had been in the great days of Pericles, not as it was now. The Greek states were weak, quarrelsome, and jealous of one another. They soon began quarrelling again.

A year or two after the settlement the Aetolians sent ambassadors to Antiochus, inviting him to come and conquer the country. With Antiochus they found Hannibal.

Hannibal had fled from Carthage. The Romans still feared him. They had sent to Carthage to demand that he should be given up. By Hannibal's advice Antiochus at once began to prepare for war.

The Romans, hearing of this, sent three envoys to the great king's court to complain. One of them was Scipio Africanus. He and Hannibal met and conversed. Scipio asked Hannibal whom he thought the greatest general the world had seen. Hannibal replied that Alexander was the first, then Pyrrhus, then himself. 'And where would you have placed yourself, had I not conquered you!' 'O Scipio,' said the Carthaginian, 'then I should have placed myself not third but first.'

In 192 Antiochus landed in Greece. He had a fine armament, but he made the mistake of not trusting in Hannibal. Hannibal advised him to make an alliance with Macedonia, and to attack Rome by sea. Antiochus did neither. He wasted the first year in Greece. In the next, he was completely defeated by the Romans under
191 Glabrio at Thermopylae, and escaped with only 500 men out of an immense host. Glabrio easily overran Greece. In the following year Lucius Scipio was made consul, in order to carry the war against Antiochus into Asia. On the news that his brother Africanus was to go with him, thousands of veterans from the Hannibalic war volunteered. A fleet was also got ready. By sea, Rome had most useful allies in Rhodes and Pergamum.

189 The Rhodian fleet gained a great victory at the mouth of the river Eurymedon over Hannibal and the Phoenician fleet, thanks to a west wind, which hampered the movements of the enemy. Soon afterwards the Roman and Rhodian fleets finally defeated the Persian navy in the Bay of Teos. The battle was fought under the eyes of Antiochus and his whole army.

The Scipios had settled Greece and now crossed the

Hellespont. Again disregarding the wise counsel of Hannibal, Antiochus offered battle at Magnesia. The huge army was cut to pieces, and the king himself fled. Asia ceased to be a great power. For long it had seemed much stronger than it really was: one battle against Rome ended it.

Hannibal fled from Magnesia to the court of the King of Bithynia. Thither the Romans pursued him. When the messengers arrived, however, Hannibal was dead. He had swallowed the drops of deadly poison concealed in a ring he always wore. In the same year there died his great rival, Scipio Africanus.

In these wars against Macedonia and against Antiochus 183
the Romans won much honour and glory. They seized nothing for themselves, however. They did not seek to rule in Greece or Asia. Before long they were, nevertheless, practically forced to do so.

Complaints were for ever being brought to Rome from all the different states of Greece and Asia Minor, which went on quarrelling and fighting among themselves. Year after year this went on, so that Rome was full of envoys.

In 179 Philip of Macedon died. He had used the years 179
of peace to prepare for war. His son Perseus had a splendid army, and granaries and treasuries that overflowed. In 172 war broke out. The Roman armies 172
were badly led, and in the next year Perseus gained a decided victory. Instead of following it up, however, he retired into Macedonia. In two more campaigns the Romans lost ground; the generals were inefficient, the discipline of the army was bad. Had Perseus been a general like his father, the Romans would have been disgraced. But Perseus wasted time, and at last a first-rate commander appeared. This was Lucius Aemilius Paullus, son of that Aemilius Paullus who had fallen at

Cannae. He drove Perseus and his army north, step by step. At Pydna a great battle was fought. At first the
168 Macedonian phalanx, with its bristling spears, drove right through the Roman line. Paullus himself said afterwards that he had never seen anything so terrible. But the ground was rough, and the furious charge broke the ranks of the phalanx, and carried it too far. The Romans closed round and pressed in between the broken ranks. In an hour the battle was won, the fate of Macedonia decided. It was only fifteen days since Aemilius had landed. Macedonia was divided into four districts, which paid taxes to Rome. Perseus was kept a prisoner in Italy.

Even so, there was no lasting peace. Twenty years later the country had to be settled again. This time Macedonia was made into a 'province': that is to
148 say, a Roman governor was sent out every year. Military roads were laid down right across the country, and Roman soldiers were stationed on the northern frontier.

In the year in which Macedonia was settled, the Romans had again to interfere in Greece. A war had broken out between Sparta and Achaea. The Achaeans refused to accept the Roman terms: this meant war
147 with Rome. Corinth was besieged by Mummius, captured, and utterly destroyed. Everything of value in the city was shipped to Italy. Corinth became a mere village. Greece, like Macedonia, passed under Roman rule. At last there was peace.

Meantime Rome itself was changing fast. Great wealth was flowing in from the East. Wealth began to bring changes in the way of life of the people and in their way of looking at things. Money poured in from Carthage, Greece, and Asia.

Victorious generals celebrated splendid triumphs and entertained the people with shows of wild beasts and

magnificent games. The most popular show was combat by gladiators. These gladiators were prisoners or slaves who fought with one another or with wild beasts in the great circus.

Some of the booty was used to build fine temples and public buildings ; some went to the victorious soldiers. From Greece all kinds of beautiful things were brought to Rome, and in the East men saw new and rich foods and stuffs and luxuries.

Roman life had been rather hard and poor. It was good that men should begin to find time for art and philosophy and to care for things not only because they were useful.

Some, however, feared that new ideas, new wealth, new power, would ruin the simpler, stronger character of the early Romans, who thought only of honour and duty in war and peace. Chief among those who sighed over the ' good old times ' was Marcus Porcius Cato. He was for ever abusing the evil ways of the present. He did not see that when Rome was mistress of a great empire and had to send men to distant lands to rule and govern them, she could not live as simply as in the old days of war and husbandry. Rome's trade was enormous : hundreds of merchants and business men were occupied all their lives in managing the corn supply, which was only one part of it. Taxes had to be collected all over the empire, law had to be administered all over the empire, armies had to guard it all. Rome was no longer an isolated city, she was the centre of the world.

And it was Cato who persuaded the Romans to an act which the great men of earlier days would certainly have despised as unworthy : the destruction of Carthage.

Hannibal, before his exile, had done something to improve the home affairs of his city. In Africa, however,

Carthage was powerless. The Numidian tribes ravaged the Carthaginian fields, and the Carthaginians were quite helpless. When they complained to Rome the Romans sent out commissioners, but did nothing.

Cato had been one of the commissioners. He saw the town flourishing, surrounded by fair fields of waving corn, the houses richly furnished, the armouries full of supplies. The old dread of Hannibalic days awoke. He came home, and on whatever subject he spoke in the senate, always ended with these words: 'Carthage must be destroyed.'

In vain others pointed out how disgraceful it would be for Rome to attack Carthage. Cato carried the day: war was decided upon

The Carthaginians had no army. When the consuls arrived they demanded, first, that all arms should be given up. This done, they declared that the town itself must be deserted and its inhabitants removed.

149 The Carthaginians, desperate, resolved to resist. They would die in defence of their city rather than abandon it. Men and women toiled day and night making new weapons and engines. Although the Roman army was but a few miles off, the city was fortified and its defenders armed without their knowledge. For two years the city held out. The town was magnificently situated for defence. The Romans were tried by the African heat, their discipline was bad, and they were inefficiently led.

At last the command was given to Scipio Aemilianus. He was the son of the victor of Pydna, and Africanus had adopted him. Scipio was a young man of lofty character. The Greek historian Polybius, who came to Rome after Pydna, and wrote the story of the Punic wars, lived in his house and admired him greatly. Scipio was a fine soldier, and under him the attack was carried

on with such energy that in 146 the hapless city was 146
taken by assault. Orders came from Rome that Carthage was to be utterly destroyed. A ploughshare was drawn across the site and a solemn curse spoken against any one who should ever build there.

Polybius stood by Scipio as they watched the city burning. 'It is a wonderful sight,' said Scipio, 'but I shudder to think that some one may one day give the same order for Rome.'

The site of CARTHAGE to-day

VII. THE GRACCHI

ROME was now the strongest power in the world, as the world was drawn on Roman maps. There was nowhere an army that could stand against her armies for long. All those who had tried to do so had only made her stronger and had been forced at last to give her their lands to rule. Rome was mistress in the East, in Greece, in Africa, in Spain.

The thing which, more than any other, had made Rome great was the devotion of the citizens to the state. Roman generals had not sought honour and glory so much for themselves as for the republic. Every citizen had felt it his first duty and his pleasure to serve the state. But as Rome grew richer and more powerful this glorious spirit changed. Men thought more of themselves and of their own comfort, and less of the republic than they had done. Great wealth poured into the city from all the conquered lands. Successful generals came home rich : and business men made fortunes by trading with the East. At the same time the difference between the rich and the poor in Rome grew more marked. As the rich grew richer the poor grew poorer. All the needy people throughout Italy flocked to Rome. They dreamed of making their fortunes there. At least, they thought, they could find work there when there was none in the country. For many poor men work was hard to get. Their places had been taken by slaves. Every war brought more slaves to Rome, and a great deal of the work of the town was done by slaves. Slaves, or freed slaves, were bakers, wine-merchants, schoolmasters,

ROMAN BOYS AT SCHOOL

Trier Museum

THE RICH

THE POOR

The Villa

The Cottage

dyers, smiths, armourers, carpenters. On the farms, too, and in the mines slaves were employed.

Once Italy had been a country of peasants and farmers. Each man lived on his own little piece of land, and cultivated the soil. There were very few of those happy farmers now. Year after year the wars had called the men away. When they returned their farms had fallen into ruin, and, as often as not, the big landowners had seized the land. These big landowners used slaves to work their wide estates, so that the former farmer could not even find work as a labourer. As time went on, all the land which had once been common had been seized by the rich.

At last a man appeared who saw all this and resolved to do something to help the poor. This was Tiberius Gracchus. He belonged to one of the oldest and noblest families in Rome. His father had done good work in Spain, and the great Scipio Africanus gave him his daughter Cornelia as his wife. Cornelia brought up her children to be true patriots, to think that their country was only great if its citizens were happy.

Tiberius saw that the way to help the poorer citizens was to give them land. He said after he had travelled through all Italy : ' The wild beasts of Italy have their lairs and hiding-places, but those who fight and die for Italy wander homeless with their wives and children and have nothing they can call their own except the air and sunlight.'

In 134 Tiberius Gracchus was elected tribune. He 134
at once proposed that the state should take back all the common land which had once belonged to the whole people. No one was to be allowed to keep more than a certain amount. The rest was to be divided up into lots and given as farms to needy Romans and Italians.

Although this bill did not take away anything from

the rich that really belonged to them, they hated it and did all they could to stop its being passed into law. Gracchus, indeed, had to go about armed. After a long struggle the bill was passed amid great rejoicing. But it was not enough to pass the bill. It had to be carried out. So long as Gracchus was tribune he was safe; but his year came to an end before the work of dividing up the lots and giving them out was done. He came forward and asked the people to elect him again. The rich declared that this was against the law, and in the middle of the voting they tried to stop the election.

Night came on before anything was settled, and numbers of people passed the hours in the streets, some of them guarding the house of Gracchus. In the morning a riot broke out. Gracchus was surrounded by angry men. He raised his hand to his head, as a signal to his friends to gather round him. At once some one ran to the senate crying, 'Gracchus is asking the people to make him king!' The senators rushed out and charged the crowd. A fight followed, in which Gracchus fell.

133 His body was cast unburied into the Tiber, and many of those who had been on his side lost their lives.

Nine years passed. Then Gaius, the younger brother of Tiberius, returned to Rome after his years of service with the army. He returned full of hatred of the rich and of the senators, and resolved to avenge the death of his brother and to carry on his work of helping the poor. His first law, after he was made tribune, made him very popular. Out of the granary of the state a certain amount of free corn was given daily to the very poor. Then he went on to attack the senate. He took away from the senators the right of being judges in all trials. Instead, he gave this power to the knights, men wealthy enough to provide themselves with a horse when they served in the army. Finally, Gracchus showed him-

self a really great and far-seeing statesman; for he asked the citizens of Rome to give votes to the people of Italy. They were the best soldiers that Rome had; they paid taxes, they had a share in all the burdens of the state; but they had no voice in the government, and in many ways they were not at all fairly treated because they had no votes. Gracchus asked the Romans to give them votes for all these reasons, and also because he wanted to make Italy one nation.

The Romans did not like this plan. They did not want to share any of the good things they had with the Italians. The poor were just as selfish as the rich in this, and at last poor and rich joined together against Gracchus. When the day for voting on the bill came, there were riots in the city. The wife of Gaius implored him not to go out, but he said that he could not desert his friends. He found the streets full of fighting, and heard that the senate had put a price upon his head. Gracchus made his way to the Aventine Hill. There he was surrounded by his enemies—the senate had even sent soldiers against him—and killed, with many of 123
those who stood by him.

The people, who had deserted Tiberius and Gaius while they lived, mourned and honoured them after their deaths. Statues were set up to them in the public places. It was too late. Two men who could have helped the state had been murdered one after the other.

Riots grew more and more common in Rome. The free corn gathered in the town a mob of people who never tried to do any work, but hung about the streets all day ready for any kind of excitement.

The same kind of mischief was at work in the upper classes. When the senate had defeated the Gracchi, they did nothing to help the poor: nothing for the Italians. The senators had begun to feel that wealth

was the one thing that they wanted. The easiest way to get wealth was from the provinces. The governors who governed in Asia and in Greece lined their own pockets there, the business men who collected the taxes did the same.

While the senate thought of wealth and neglected the poor, they mismanaged the foreign affairs of the state. In Sicily a slave war broke out and lasted a long time.
112 In Africa a weary war dragged on against Jugurtha, king of Numidia, in which many Roman generals were disgraced by taking bribes from the enemy. The discipline of the army was bad, and Jugurtha actually defeated a large force and compelled the men to pass under the yoke. It looked as though Africa was lost.

At last a good general was sent out, and a man who scorned a bribe. This was Caecilius Metellus ; although he belonged to one of the oldest families in Rome, he chose his officers because they were good soldiers, no matter what their birth. The most brilliant of his officers was Gaius Marius, the son of poor Italian peasants. Marius was very ambitious. An oracle had told him that he should hold the highest post in the state seven times : and he was eager to begin. Although Metellus laughed when Marius said he wished to stand for the consulship, Marius told the people that if they elected him the war would soon be over. They did elect him, and in 106 he came out to Africa as general in place of Metellus.

There he found his promises not so easy to keep. Jugurtha had joined Bocchus, king of Mauretania, and Bocchus nearly defeated Marius. The Roman army was saved, not by the general, but by a young patrician, Lucius Cornelius Sulla, who led a brilliant cavalry charge. Marius then tried to persuade Bocchus to give up Jugurtha. Bocchus said that Sulla must come and

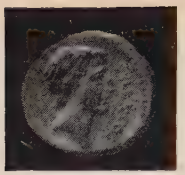
fetch him. Sulla took his life in his hands, persuaded Bocchus that he had better have Rome as friend than foe, and returned bringing Jugurtha in chains.

The seven years of war were over. Marius returned 105
to Rome victorious, and Jugurtha was led in triumph before him. He hated Sulla, however, because on his seal ring there was engraved a picture of Bocchus handing over Jugurtha.

At the moment, however, Marius was the first man in the state. He was elected consul by acclamation, to lead the Roman armies against the Gauls. They were again threatening on the north. Roman generals had been defeated more than once on the frontiers. Carbo had been routed in 113, Silanus in 109, Longinus in 107, and in 105, the year in which Marius returned from Africa, 80,000 Romans under Caepio were slaughtered in a great battle at Arausio. No such disaster had happened since Cannae. Had the Cimbri marched south the city would have been in extreme danger. At Rome the greatest alarm was felt. Four times in half a dozen years the armies had, through the fault of their generals, been defeated by the barbarians.

The Cimbri, however, turned west, towards the Pyrenees. Marius at once put himself at the head of the army and marched north. For three years in succession he was made consul. In 102 he inflicted a 102
crushing defeat on the barbarians at Aquae Sextiae. The Teutones and the Ambrones were wiped out. In the next year, at Vercellae, the Cimbri shared their fate. 101

Marius returned to Rome as the hero of the hour. For the sixth time he was made consul.



Sulla

VIII. MARIUS AND SULLA

THERE was little contentment in Rome, in spite of the great victories. Wise men's hearts were heavy and their minds were full of fear. They felt that all was not well with the state, and that, somehow, change was bound to come.

The senators wanted no change. They wanted to keep the power that came from managing the affairs of state in their own hands, for the power that came from money was in the hands of others. Many of the old families were now very poor, many became poor because their young men lived wildly and spent all they had in amusement. Yet the poor senators looked down on the knights who got their money by trade. Roman citizens generally despised trade. They began, too, to hate serving in the army. As fewer Romans came forward more Italians had to be pressed in. At last Marius passed a law by which men were to be paid for serving as soldiers ; and from that time the army changed. It was no longer made up of citizens, but of men who were soldiers all their lives and whose law was the word of their general.

No one helped the Italians, after the death of Gracchus. As the years went on, their lot became even harder. The farmers could not grow corn as cheaply as that which came in from the rich fields of Sicily and Africa. They could not get enough land for cattle-grazing. In spite of the law, rich Romans bought big estates.

In Rome itself there was no peace. Ever since the death of the Gracchi there had been two parties: the party

of the senate, which tried to keep things as they were, and the party which wished to give more power to the people. But many of the leaders on either side cared little enough for the good of the state or of the people; they thought only how they could get most power for themselves.

A strong wise man was needed. Unhappily, Marius, though a great soldier, was no statesman. He was a rude, uncultivated man, and knew nothing of politics. He took the popular side, not because he understood its ideas, but because the patricians in the senate would have nothing to do with him. All through his year of consulship (100) there were incessant riots and brawls : 100
some of them so serious that men of high rank were murdered in the open streets. At the end of the year Marius had lost all his popularity. He was glad to go to Asia, on pretence of business.

At last a reformer appeared in the person of Marcus Livius Drusus. Drusus brought in a bill which reformed the law courts and gave land to the landless men in Italy. This bill passed because Drusus had behind him the better men among the patricians, and because he won the people to his side by promising them cheap corn. But when he went on to bring in another bill, giving votes to the Italians, the people turned against him, as they had done against Gracchus. As he returned to his own house one evening Drusus was struck down by an unknown hand. He died a few hours afterwards, saying 91
that it would be long before the state found another citizen like himself. No inquiry was made, and the murderer was never punished.

The news of Drusus's death went like an earthquake shock through Italy. The Italians had lost their only friend. They had no more hope that the Romans would give them votes. The time had come when they must

seize them. All over Italy the towns prepared for war.
90 Soon an army was in the field. At Asculum war actually broke out. The people of central Italy formed themselves into a new state.

Soon each side had nearly a hundred thousand men in the field. The war began and was carried on with great bitterness. Marius and his rival Sulla both served as officers. Marius gained no success, but Sulla carried all before him, and at the end of the second year of the war the Romans had gained the upper hand everywhere. But the war had forced them to see that the time had come when the Italians must have some share in the government. A law was passed which made every Italian who laid down his arms within two months a Roman citizen.

It was well the war was over, for terrible news came to Rome. Mithridates, King of Pontus, had invaded Asia, and 80,000 Italians had been massacred there.
88 Rebellion spread to Greece; Athens rose.

In Rome the treasury was empty. Hundreds of business men had been ruined by the war at home, hundreds more lost all they had when the taxes stopped coming from the East. In Rome there were riots: people were starving: there was no free corn now. Fighting took place daily in the streets. Marius, who was in Rome, had himself made commander-in-chief to carry on the war in the East, although Sulla had already been chosen consul and appointed general. He sent an order to Sulla to hand over his army.

Sulla's reply was to march upon Rome at the head of his legions. He entered the city with his troops and was welcomed by the senate. Marius fled across the sea to Carthage. His followers were put to death. When order was restored in Rome, Sulla set sail for Greece. It was high time.

Mithridates was an able and ambitious prince who had made himself lord of all the rich lands round the Black Sea, and now planned to join all the people of the East in war against Rome, as Hannibal had dreamed of doing. His general, Archelaus, soon overran Greece, and by the time Sulla landed he was entrenched in Athens, having conquered all the north.

Athens was surrounded by her stone walls and very strongly fortified. Sulla's force was a small one, and there was the greatest danger that Mithridates and his fleet would attack them from the sea. The siege dragged on and no help came from Rome. In Rome indeed everything went against Sulla. Marius had returned with an army, and the senate had been unable to defend the city against him. Terrible days followed. The streets of Rome ran with blood, for every one who had ever opposed or offended Marius was cut down. The old general himself was mad with fury, and strode about the streets like a wild beast, killing all who came in his way. Sulla was declared an enemy of his country, banished and removed from his command; his house at Rome was razed to the ground; his villas in the country were pillaged; all his goods were sold. This was the news that came to Sulla in reply to his appeal for help.

His iron will did not fail. Greece was ravaged in order to collect money and supplies. During the whole year Athens held out, but in the spring the city fell 86
after a desperate assault. The army of Mithridates had landed in Macedonia and was moving south. The troops were four times as numerous as the Romans, but Sulla's men were full of confidence in their leader, who had never despaired even in the greatest difficulties. At Chaeronea Sulla gained a complete and crushing victory. He lost hardly any men, but out of Mithridates' 60,000 only 10,000 escaped.

Next spring Mithridates sent another great army.
85 Sulla marched quickly into Boeotia and defeated it at Orchomenus.

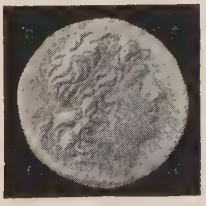
Mithridates was defeated though not crushed. Meantime the government at Rome had sent out a fresh army under Fimbria to remove Sulla and put him to death as an enemy of his country. Sulla, in danger of his life, made peace with Mithridates and marched against Fimbria; the soldiers deserted to him, and Fimbria slew himself.

Sulla had now a large army, a fleet, and plenty of money. He spent a year in settling the affairs of Asia, and collecting the taxes that had not been paid during
83 the last four years. Then he sailed for Italy and landed at Brundisium at the head of his troops. He marched north without shedding any blood, and as he marched he was joined from place to place by various detachments led by men who had been banished from Rome, among them Crassus and Pompeius, whose fathers had been murdered by Marius. Marius had died after the massacres, a few days after he had been made consul for the
86 seventh time; but his associates, first Cinna and then Carbo, had ruled as badly as he had done, and there was a large party which longed to see them driven out. Sulla easily defeated the armies sent out against him and was soon master of the whole south. He entered Rome, defeated Carbo in the north, and, returning, crushed a Samnite army in the battle of the Colline Gate.

Rome and all Italy were in Sulla's power. Sulla was resolved to restore order, to make riot impossible, to give back to the senate all its old power. First, he was made dictator, then he set about destroying the party of Marius, Cinna and Carbo. Lists of those who were 'public enemies' were drawn up and posted in the

Forum. Nearly 5,000 persons perished, and all their property and the property of those who had fled or been banished fell to the state. The tomb of Marius was broken open and his ashes scattered to the winds. Samnium was made a desert. The land was cut up into lots and given to Sulla's soldiers. When the state was thus 'cleansed' Sulla turned to the reform of the government. The senate was made larger and stronger. Every one who had held any office had a seat there: and no one could rise to the higher offices without holding all the lower ones first. The Rubicon in Umbria was made the boundary of Italy: no general might cross the Rubicon without laying down his command. Sulla did not want any other general to be able to do as he had done. He wanted to build up an orderly state. The law courts were reformed and taken altogether out of the hands of the knights.

When Sulla had finished his work, he laid down the dictatorship and retired to private life. His ambition was satisfied: he left Rome and went to live in his country villa, where he passed his days in hunting and fishing, his nights in banqueting and revelling: and there, a year later, he died. He had always seen what he wanted in life, and his strong will and powerful brain had enabled him to reach it. His nature was cold; he never wanted the impossible. He called himself Sulla the Lucky, and Chance was the only god he believed in.



Mithridates

A Roman Aqueduct

IX. THE TRIUMVIRATE

ITALY soon recovered from the civil wars. The Italians were now contented, the cultivation of the soil improved. Vines and olives were planted, and flourished under the care of skilled slaves. Along the Latin way from Rome to Capua charming country houses with gardens were built, to which the tired Romans went for a few days' rest from the bustle of life in Rome.

Rome did not recover so easily. Sulla had settled the state by rebuilding the powers of the senate ; but there were no men to carry on his work and it was soon undone. The old aristocrats had disappeared in the proscriptions. The most prominent men were all quite young : and many of them cared little for the old forms, and ways ; much for winning power and fame for themselves.

Among those who supported the senate and held that the old ways were the best, the most prominent were Marcus Porcius Cato and Marcus Tullius Cicero.

Cato believed, like his great-grandfather, that everything in his own day was wrong : everything in past times right. He was a man of the most upright character : but he was blind to the spirit of his own time.

Cicero was devoted to the cause of the senate, but the senators never wholly trusted him because he came of a humble family. He was the greatest orator in Rome, his eloquence was irresistible both in the law courts and in the assembly. But he never made up his mind

EVERYDAY LIFE. Knives, scissors, spoons, fishhooks, &c. Above locks and keys. The keys were often used as finger-rings

A ROMAN AMPHITHEATRE for gladiatorial shows

firmly about anything, and thus lacked the first quality necessary in a great public man.

Neither Cato nor Cicero was a leader of men, nor was Lucius Lucullus, although he was a most able soldier. Lucullus and Cneius Pompeius, brilliant young lieutenants of Sulla's, each wished to be given command in the war in the East. Mithridates declared war in the year 73, five years after Sulla's death. He had a magnificent army and full treasuries. Since the battle of Magnesia, however, Roman generals had learned that eastern rulers were not so powerful as they looked. Treasure and glory were to be won in the East.

Three years earlier, in 76, Pompeius had been sent to Spain. Sertorius, the ablest of the captains of Marius, had in the years since his banishment made himself master of that country. His followers called him a second Hannibal: and like him Sertorius was a brilliant general and adored by his men. For eight years he defeated one Roman army after another. Pompeius was repulsed again and again. Sertorius, who had made an alliance with Mithridates, had ample supplies and seemed invincible.

Pompeius was thoroughly weary of the war in Spain: so were his troops. He was therefore greatly disappointed when the command in the East was given to Lucullus and not to him.

In the next year he conquered Sertorius at last: not 72
by arms, but by the treachery of some of Sertorius's own officers, who murdered him at a banquet.

Pompeius returned to Rome, where he found the city suffering from a terrible famine. The pirates were again masters of the high seas and had defeated a Roman general. In Italy itself a dangerous rising of slaves took place. Under a slave named Spartacus a body of slaves who were being trained as gladiators escaped

from their school. From all over the country other slaves
71 joined them; they encamped on Vesuvius, and one or two expeditions against them failed.

At last a certain Marcus Licinius Crassus came forward and offered to take the command. Crassus was the richest man in Rome, and his immense fortune was always growing greater. He wanted power as well as money. Pompeius, who was the idol of the people, stood in his way. Crassus thought he would equal Pompeius if he defeated Spartacus. He was quite successful in his expedition, and the Slave War was at an end. Then, although they secretly disliked one another,
70 Crassus and Pompeius were made consuls together.

Lucullus meantime was gaining great successes in the East. Crassus praised Lucullus in order to annoy
73 Pompeius. Lucullus had defeated Mithridates in Asia Minor and captured 15,000 prisoners; then he had overrun Bithynia and Pontus and subdued them
72 thoroughly. Next he overthrew Tigranes of Armenia, with whom Mithridates had taken refuge, and captured his city of Tigranocerta.

But Lucullus did not know how to make himself loved by his men. They grumbled at his harsh discipline, they did not like the way in which he sent all the booty to Rome. The men grumbled more and more. Clodius, one of Lucullus's officers, was in the pay of Pompeius; he stirred up a mutiny. Lucullus was recalled.

Lucullus was angry and embittered. The fruits of victory had been snatched from him. He left active life altogether and retired to his magnificent house and gardens. Pompeius meantime had been given a special command in order to crush the pirates. He was put at the head of an enormous fleet and at the end of forty-two
67 days the seas were cleared.

This exploit made Pompeius the hero of the hour. In

the next year he was given another special command: to go to the East and crush Mithridates. 66

Here again Pompeius gained an easy triumph. Lucullus had done the work, but the prize fell into Pompeius's hand. His army was much larger than that of Lucullus had been, and his men were devoted to their general. Mithridates was defeated in Pontus, and soon afterwards killed himself: Armenia was overrun: Syria submitted 64 without a blow. In Phoenicia only one town—Jerusalem—resisted. Pompeius settled the conquered kingdoms and slowly made his way home by Ephesus, 63 Rhodes, and Athens. A crowd of kings followed him and vast masses of treasure.

In Rome the senate watched his growing power with alarm. He seemed to be becoming too powerful for a single citizen. Every one looked up to him as the greatest and strongest man in the state.

Pompeius was a good soldier, but he was a man of limited mind and undecided character. There was a man in Rome far more dangerous than he, though few as yet suspected his greatness. This was Gaius Julius Caesar.

Caesar was the nephew of Marius. Sulla had him banished because he would not give up the wife he loved although she was the daughter of Cinna. At the time Sulla had said, 'In that boy there are many Mariuses.' As a young man Caesar had lived so wildly that serious men distrusted him. He had spent more money than he possessed on games and shows for the people, and was loaded with debt. Although a brilliant speaker, he had been unlucky in the law courts.

Unlike Pompeius, Caesar knew exactly what he wanted to do. He gradually made himself the leader of the party which was opposed to the senate. His difficulty

was that he was in debt and wanted money. This was met, however, when he formed an alliance with Crassus, who lacked a party behind him.

Caesar desired the people to have more share in the government than they now possessed. Most of the men of his party, however, wanted nothing but more money and better positions for themselves. They would have liked the old riotous days of Marius back again. At the head of the most reckless of the younger men was a certain Catiline. Rumours spread in Rome that Catiline was actually plotting against the state. Nevertheless Catiline stood for the consulship, and was only defeated because the senatorial party overcame their distrust of Cicero and voted for him against Cataline.

Cicero felt his consulship to be the great moment of his life. He thoroughly believed that a conspiracy was afoot, and came down to the senate with a cuirass under his toga. He attacked Catiline in a series of passionate speeches : and Catiline fled from the city. The other suspected persons were thrown into prison. Cicero got hold of some letters from a Gallic tribe called the Allobroges which seemed to speak of a plot. On the strength of these letters he declared that the conspirators ought to be put to death. All the senators voted for their death until Caesar's turn came. Some people unfairly suspected Caesar of knowing of the plot. Nevertheless, he warned the senate that it was illegal to put Roman citizens to death without allowing them to be heard in their own defence. As he left the meeting he was assaulted with swords. The conspirators were executed. Cato hailed Cicero as the father of his country.

Caesar seemed more unpopular than ever. He stood for the office of Pontifex Maximus, the chief officer of the religion of the state. As he left his house he told his mother, to whom he was devoted, that if he failed in this

he should leave Rome. He felt despairing; but he was elected.

It was in the next year that Pompeius returned from the East. Every one in Rome dreaded what he might do. The senate had refused to allow him to stand for the consulship in his absence. Many people expected that 62
he would march on the city, like Sulla, at the head of his legions. But Pompeius was no Sulla. He disbanded his troops at Brundisium and returned to Rome with only a small escort.

In Rome he found that no one feared him without his army. The senate crossed him in everything. Lucullus, Crassus, and Cato opposed him in turn. He was not made consul. His soldiers were not rewarded, as he had asked they should be. The year passed and Pompeius was angry and irritated.

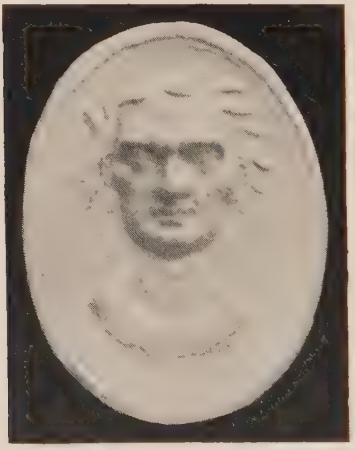
Caesar meantime was in Spain, and there for the first 61
time showed that he possessed brilliant powers as a general. One day one of his officers found him in tears over the life of Alexander the Great. 'Have I not cause for distress', he cried, 'who have done nothing at an age when Alexander ruled over so many conquered countries?' When he returned to Rome he stood for the consulship.

The only man in Rome Caesar needed to fear was Pompeius. If the senate had had Pompeius on their side, they could easily have crushed Caesar. But the senate had kept Pompeius waiting for three years without rewarding his soldiers, and Pompeius was deeply hurt. Caesar could do everything for Pompeius that Pompeius wanted. The only other man who had real power in Rome was Crassus. If Caesar, Pompeius, and Crassus worked together, no power in Rome could stand against them. Crassus was devoted to Caesar, but he hated Pompeius.

Caesar had a charm that few could resist. He used it, and by the end of the year the three strongest men in Rome were bound together. The First Triumvirate, as it was afterwards called, was a private bond : at first no one knew of it.

59 Caesar was at once elected consul. He passed a land act which divided the common land justly and fairly. Allotments were given to Pompeius's soldiers. Cato opposed to the last, but in vain. Caesar gave his daughter Julia in marriage to Pompeius. No one could resist the three. At the end of the year Caesar was given a command in Gaul for five years. Cato and Cicero were banished. Pompeius was made head of the commissioners appointed to divide the common land.

In the spring of 58 Caesar left for Gaul.



CAESAR

A pig of iron from Roman Britain

X. CAESAR

MARIUS had made southern Gaul a province; but from that time the country as a whole had never been at peace. In the wide lands that stretched from the Alps to the German seas a great many different tribes dwelt. Some of these tribes had settled homes, others wandered, ever in search of newer and richer pasture lands. Between them there was constant fighting. On the Roman frontier war was incessant.

Caesar came to Gaul in 58. For the next nine years he remained there. At once he appeared a new man. He was delicate, and from his youth had suffered from headaches and from what was then called the 'falling sickness'. But he now won the devotion of his men by sharing every toil and hardship with them. He ate their food and slept with no more comfort than they had. He had shown in Spain something of his powers as a general. In the Gallic campaigns he proved himself one of the finest the world has seen. In the planning of campaigns he showed a rare sagacity, and in carrying them out a swiftness only equalled by Alexander. As he rode on the march he dictated to his secretaries the history of his wars which we possess. This history shows that he was a great writer as well as a great general.

Caesar first secured the Upper Rhine by defeating the Helvetii. Then marching north with amazing speed he crushed the Germans under Ariovistus and saved the Middle Rhine.

In the next year he went against the Belgae. The Nervii, a most warlike tribe, nearly defeated his men;

but Caesar himself turned the day by rushing into the ranks of the barbarians, sword in hand. The Nervii were cut to pieces.

56 When the news came to Rome the senate ordered a festival lasting fifteen days to be held in Caesar's honour. In Rome, Clodius, a foolish and riotous young man, was really master of the city. Pompeius did nothing. From morning to night the streets were full of disorder. Many people in Rome began to feel that some great change was needed. The events of the last fifty years showed how much the state needed a strong man to guide it. But the Romans hated the idea of a king.

Pompeius meantime grew jealous of Caesar. Caesar spent the winter at Lucca, where hundreds of the most prominent men in Rome waited upon him. Among them came Crassus and Pompeius. They had been quarrelling again. Caesar's charm, however, prevailed. The Triumvirate was renewed.

55 In the next year Caesar swept up to the North, defeated the tribes of the coast, and made an expedition to the island of Britain, till then unknown. At first he had some difficulty in crossing, and his fleet was so much battered by storms as it lay off the coast that he was glad to
54 get back to Gaul before the winter came on. Next year he landed again with larger forces. Cassivelaunus, the lord of the south, agreed to pay tribute to Rome, and the danger that the Britons might invade Gaul was put aside.

On his return to his winter quarters news came to Caesar of the death of his daughter Julia. Her death broke the bond between Caesar and Pompeius. Both had loved her dearly. Now Pompeius gave way to the envy and distrust of Caesar which had begun to fill him. Crassus, the third triumvir, was made commander of

a great expedition against Parthia. Parthia was an unknown country to the Romans. Crassus marched far into the interior. There his army was surrounded by 53
a vast host of Parthian horse-bowmen, and defeated at Carrhae, Crassus himself being slain.

In Rome the riots in the streets grew worse from day to day. Clodius was murdered in broad daylight by a gang of ruffians belonging to his enemy Milo. All the senate could do was to make Pompeius sole consul. 52

Pompeius seemed at the height of his power. When he fell ill prayers went up for his recovery all over Italy. He declared he need only stamp his foot to have all the soldiers he wanted. Crassus was dead. From Gaul news came that Caesar was hard pressed.

Pompeius now pretended to be the champion of the senate, and attacked Caesar in every possible way. He proposed that Caesar should be ordered to lay down his command a year earlier than had been agreed upon, and that he should not be allowed to stand for the consulship in his absence. In doing this he broke the promises he had made to Caesar at Lucca.

While Pompeius was talking much and doing very little, Caesar was busy in Gaul.

During his absence in Britain a body of his troops had 53
been cut to pieces at Aduatuca. Soon after the Nervii rose again, and Caesar's lieutenant would have been killed with all his men if the commander himself had not marched rapidly to the spot and attacked and defeated the Nervii.

But in the next year the rising, which seemed to have been crushed by Caesar's promptness, broke out again, more dangerously than ever. Among the Arverni, one of the most warlike of the tribes of central Gaul, a real leader appeared in Vercingetorix. Vercingetorix dreamed of a free united Gaul. He gathered most of the tribes

of the south and the centre together and showed real ability as a general. He retreated before Caesar, burning and destroying villages and fields, so as to draw the invader on and on into difficult and unknown country by the need of provender. Round Avaricum the war raged fiercely. Caesar took it after a long siege: but before Gergovia he was driven back.

52 This was his first repulse. The news of it spread through Gaul like wildfire. The Belgae rose: the Aedui revolted: rebellion spread everywhere. From the Rhine to the Pyrenees the whole Celtic nation was under arms, with the exception of the Remi. At Alesia Caesar was between two great armies. The Gauls expected him to be annihilated. Many of his officers advised a retreat and urged him to ask for help from Rome.

Caesar, however, refused to retreat. Instead, by brilliant generalship, he gained a great victory. Alesia was captured. The Celtic army was completely defeated and fled in confusion. The rebellion was at an end. Vercingetorix surrendered to the conqueror, and with him all the hopes of the Celts fell.

Caesar was not satisfied with conquering Gaul. He did not leave the country until he had thoroughly settled and Romanized it. His conquests, unlike those of Pompeius in the East, were lasting.

Caesar was a great statesman as well as a great soldier. He did not try to change the religion or the habits of the Celts. But he planted garrisons, made roads, and established a settled form of government. Roman money, Roman weights and measures, and even Roman speech began to be used throughout Gaul. The weakness of the Celts was that they could not unite. Caesar used this weakness to keep them all under the control of Rome.

By the end of the year 50 Caesar's work in Gaul was

done. The whole country, from the Alps to the ocean, was settled. He was ready to return to Rome. He knew what had been happening in Rome in his absence. He knew that it was not safe for him to return without any army so long as Pompeius was at the head of his troops. Every one saw that the republic was drawing to an end. Rome was only waiting for the strong man who would take the power into his hands. Pompeius and the senate pretended not to see this, although Pompeius, with his army behind him, was king in Rome in all but name.

In the senate a young aristocrat named Curio proposed that both Caesar and Pompeius should disband their armies. The proposal was carried. Pompeius refused.

Caesar was at Ravenna. In January the senate met 49
again. Curio read a letter in which Caesar recorded his services to the republic and declared that he would lay down his arms if Pompeius would do the same. The senate declared the letter to be dangerous. Lentulus, a friend to Pompeius, proposed that a day should be fixed on which Caesar must unarm or be declared an enemy to the state. He said nothing about Pompeius. Marcus Antonius and Quintus Crassus, two tribunes, who opposed, were expelled and threatened with swords. They fled for their lives to Caesar.

When Caesar heard what had passed, he left Ravenna with the 13th legion. At the Rubicon he paused. But his soldiers, who had already cried to him to advance on Rome, dashed across the stream.

'The die is cast,' said Caesar as he crossed in his turn.

The Rubicon was the boundary of Italy. When Caesar crossed it at the head of his soldiers, he declared war on the senate. The terror of his name was such that as he marched towards Rome no one resisted. In Rome

there was a panic, although Caesar had only one legion. Pompeius was slowly gathering his forces. No one knew what to do. The consuls and most of the senators fled from the city in such haste that all the money of the state was left in the treasury. They betook themselves to Brundisium, where Pompeius had collected his forces, and thence they all sailed to Greece.

Caesar reduced the south without any bloodshed. In March he entered Rome. No lives were taken. The property of those who had fled with Pompeius was spared. Caesar showed no bitterness; everywhere order was restored.

Meantime, although Italy and Gaul were in Caesar's hands, the rest of the empire was in the power of the Pompeian party, and they had all the lands from which the corn supply came. Their plan was to starve Italy.

Caesar left Marcus Antonius in charge of Italy, sent Curio to conquer Sicily, and himself set off for Spain, where Pompeius had a large army under two good captains. In Spain Caesar won a victory at Ilerda, and the country submitted. Many of the soldiers joined his army. Curio meantime had defeated Cato in Sicily and subdued the country. Corn now flowed into Rome from Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia.

Caesar spent eleven days in Rome. Then he sailed for Greece, where Pompeius was encamped near Dyrrhachium. Pompeius was in a strong position. His numbers were much greater than Caesar's. He felt sure of victory and refused the friendly meeting which Caesar offered.

For a long time the two armies stood facing one another, for it was Pompeius's plan to wear Caesar out by want
48 of food. In an attack made on his camp Caesar was obliged to retreat. Pompeius did not pursue. 'Fortune would have declared for the enemy this day', said Caesar, 'if they had had a general who knew how to conquer.'

In the camp of Pompeius there was great rejoicing. Men began to plan what offices they would hold in Rome, what new houses they would take there, as they feasted in their tents. His officers persuaded Pompeius to leave Dyrrhachium and follow Caesar to Pharsalia.

There, to Caesar's delight, the battle took place. Pompeius had 43,000 men, Caesar 21,000; Pompeius was also very strong in cavalry.

Caesar, however, arranged his men with great skill. By superior tactics, he defeated the cavalry of the enemy and won a victory on the right wing that decided the day. When Pompeius saw his cavalry in full retreat, he despaired. He left the field and hid himself in his tent. The army, deserted by their general, broke in pieces. Caesar pursued them to their camp. As night fell the camp was stormed, and the defeat became a rout.

Caesar was master of the world. Pompeius fled to Egypt. His army no longer existed. The princes of the East submitted.

In Egypt Pompeius was murdered before Caesar landed, by the orders of the crafty minister of the queen Cleopatra. Caesar spent the winter months in Alexandria settling the affairs of Egypt; at night he feasted with the enchanting queen. In the spring he invaded Asia 47
and settled its affairs so speedily that he wrote home, 'I came, I saw, I conquered.'

In the autumn he was in Greece; in December he sailed for Africa, where Cato still held out with the remains of the senatorial army. At Thapsus he won a complete victory. When the news of it was brought to Cato in Utica, where he was, he killed himself.

Cato's son was spared by Caesar, and his daughter was married to Marcus Brutus, a Pompeian whom Caesar had forgiven and loved much.

Africa was made a Roman province. After Caesar had 45

defeated the sons of Pompeius at the battle of Munda in Spain, all danger of war was at an end. Caesar was master of the Roman world.

He turned to the great task of rebuilding the state. As a statesman Caesar believed in the ideal of Gaius Gracchus—government for the good of the people. But as Rome grew and controlled such mighty lands abroad it was necessary that the government should be strong and stable. In order that that might happen it seemed to Caesar that there must be, at the head of the state, one man with full power. The republic had lasted 450 years; but it had broken down. Caesar never took the name of king, so hateful to the Romans. When Antonius offered him a crown, he refused it. But he was king in all but name, and his nephew Augustus Caesar only carried on his work when he made himself the first Roman emperor.

Caesar improved the laws, he reformed the army, the navy, the treasury, the law courts. He found the government hopelessly in debt. By 44, through wise management, the treasury was fuller than it had ever been before. He improved the organization of the army and raised the pay of the soldiers.

He saw the sufferings of the poor and passed many useful measures which helped them. Free corn was not given to every one who asked for it, but only to those who really needed it.

Caesar's government was mild and just. He made no favourites. He paid no heed to complaints. But there were many in Rome who hated and plotted against him. He knew that he was in constant danger. Fear, however, was unknown to him: he believed that the day of his death was fixed, and was ready for it whenever it might come.

One day a soothsayer stopped him and bade him beware

of the Ides of March: but when the Ides (the 15th) came, he went down to the senate as usual. There 44
a certain Metullus Cimber fell on his knees before him and begged for the return of his banished brother. Caesar refused. Thereupon Cimber and the other conspirators—among them many to whom Caesar had shown great kindness—fell upon and slew him. Pierced by six-and-thirty wounds, Caesar lay dead at the foot of the statue of Pompeius.

Marcus Brutus, the leader of the conspirators, lifted his dagger aloft, and cried that he had freed Rome from a tyrant. He called upon Cicero and others, who had known of the conspiracy, to rejoice. But the people, instead of receiving the conspirators with joy, were terrified. After Marcus Antonius had read out Caesar's will, in which he left his gardens and gifts of money to the people, there was a riot in Rome. Antonius, with 43
Lepidus, another of Caesar's officers, bound themselves in the second Triumvirate with young Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus, who was the murdered dictator's nephew and his heir. The leaders of the conspiracy had left Rome for the various provinces of which they had made themselves governors: before marching against them the Triumvirs set about restoring order at home. Lists were drawn up containing the names of those who were to be executed, among them Cicero, who had been writing fiery speeches against Antonius. Antonius and Octavianus then crossed to Greece. At Philippi they met 42
Brutus and Cassius in battle and defeated them.

The Triumvirs were now in name masters of the Roman world. True, Sextus, the son of Pompeius, was still ravaging the seas with a semi-pirate fleet: but their real difficulty lay in the disputes which soon set them against one another. For the present Octavianus returned to Rome, while Antonius remained in the East to

settle the conquered lands there. But in the East he met Cleopatra, now a woman more enchanting than the girl who had fascinated Caesar. To love and live with her seemed to the ardent mind of Antonius worth the sacrifice of rule over all the world. While Octavianus—or Caesar as he was now commonly called—was slowly and calmly laying his plans, Antonius feasted in Alexandria. Soon open quarrels broke out between the two Triumvirs: for Lepidus had ceased to count. They were patched
38 up and a public reconciliation made by the marriage of Antonius to Octavia, the sister of Caesar and widow of Caius Marcellus; but when Antonius left her and returned to Egypt, strife grew. Finally Caesar declared war. Against the advice of his captains, Antonius
31 decided to fight at sea, and in the naval battle of Actium he was defeated, mainly by reason of the flight of Cleopatra and her galleys. Antonius killed himself, and the queen, learning that Caesar intended to lead her in triumph through the streets of Rome, followed his example.

The battle of Actium decided that Caesar and not Antonius was to be master of the world. More than that, it decided that the centre of the world was to remain in the West, not in the East: was to be Rome and not Alexandria, Italy not Egypt. Caesar never felt the spell of the East which had moved the quicker spirits of the great Julius and of Antonius. Nevertheless, oriental influences became more and more strong in the West. All the wealth of the East flowed into Rome and gradually changed its character.

Coin commemorating the death of Caesar

CHAPTER XI

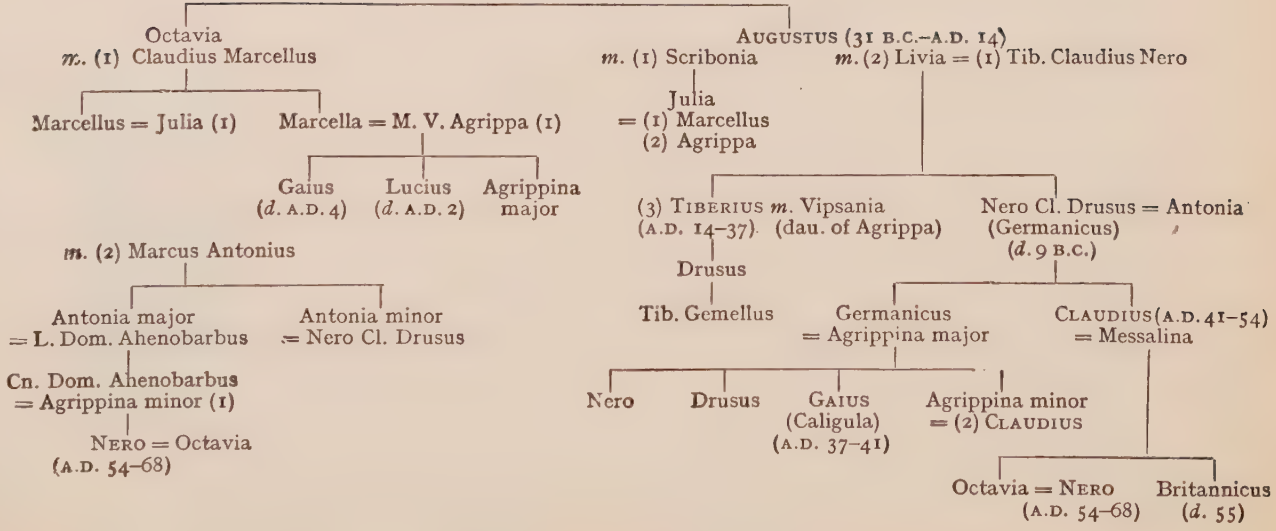
AUGUSTUS AND THE CLAUDIAN EMPERORS

§ I. Augustus (31 B.C. to A.D. 14)

Julius Caesar had more than once refused the crown. He knew that the name of king was hateful to the Romans. His nephew, whose real power, after the battle of Actium, was as great as that of the Dictator, knew very well that in Rome the love of the old ways was deep. For this reason he long refused any form of imperial title, and to the end declared that his power was shared with the senate, which, in its turn, clung to the show of importance. In 36 B. C. he had been made tribune for
B.C. life: nine years later, when he was consul for the seventh time, he laid down his extraordinary powers, and immediately after assumed a new title, that of 'princeps' or leader of the State. This was the formal beginning of the empire. The soldiers had already conferred the title Imperator on Caesar, as on any general who celebrated a triumph: and he was perpetual supreme head of the army. All his descendants henceforth bore the name Caesar: the name of Augustus now given to the princeps was merely a title of honour, conferred by the senate and people on the head of the State.

The Romans realized the greatness of Julius Caesar. Divine honours had been given him in the provinces during his life; and after death he was added to the number of the gods. The strength of Augustus had

AUGUSTUS AND THE CLAUDIANS


Octavia
m. (1) Claudius Marcellus
Marcellus = Julia (1)
Marcella = M. V. Agrippa (1)
Gaius (d. A.D. 4)
Lucius (d. A.D. 2)
Agrippina major
m. (2) Marcus Antonius
Antonia major = L. Dom. Ahenobarbus
Antonia minor = Nero Cl. Drusus
Cn. Dom. Ahenobarbus = Agrippina minor (1)
Nero = Octavia (A.D. 54–68)
Augustus (31 B.C.–A.D. 14)
m. (1) Scribonia
m. (2) Livia = (1) Tib. Claudius Nero
Julia = (1) Marcellus (2) Agrippa
(3) Tiberius m. Vipsania (A.D. 14–37) (dau. of Agrippa)
Drusus
Tib. Gemellus
Nero Cl. Drusus = Antonia (Germanicus) (d. 9 B.C.)
Germanicus = Agrippina major
Claudius (A.D. 41–54) = Messalina
Nero
Drusus
Gaius (Caligula) (A.D. 37–41)
Agrippina minor = (2) Claudius
Octavia = Nero (A.D. 54–68)
Britannicus (d. 55)

lain partly in his relationship to Julius, but more in his own ability and character. History shows again and again that success comes to the man who desires some one clear thing, and can set his whole will upon attaining it. The nature of Augustus was limited as that of Antonius was not; Augustus could not have felt the world well lost for the love of a woman. All through his career he was ready to sacrifice feelings, friends, everything, to attain power. When he attained it he used it well. He was not a great man like Caesar: yet the empire continued for nearly fifteen hundred years on the lines he laid down.

The whole world longed for peace. In the summer of 29 B.C.
the year 29, when Augustus returned to Italy, he was greeted with joy as the bringer of peace. His triumph lasted for three days, showing the victories over Europe, Asia, and Africa. The buildings Julius Caesar had begun were formally opened and his own temple was solemnly consecrated. Even more solemn were the ceremonies at the closing of the Temple of Janus, whose gates had stood open since the end of the first Punic War.

Throughout the years that followed Augustus and his counsellors were incessantly busy. Their first tasks were to reorganize the army and the fleet for the defence of the vast empire: to settle the government at home and in the provinces, to arrange for the food supplies, and to restore the worship of the gods, which had fallen into confusion and disuse. Fortunately two of the emperor's counsellors were men of first-rate ability and deep devotion to their master and the State—Agrippa and Maecenas. Augustus was not a soldier: it was Agrippa who had won his victories, and had he desired the first place for himself he might have been a danger to the State. Fortunately, however, he was content to be second to Augustus. Maecenas was a statesman and

diplomatist: he despised the show of power. The Romans knew how great his real power was: they knew him as a skilled and generous patron of the arts and letters. It was to his house that the poets and writers gathered whose works have made the age of Augustus famous in all later times: men like Vergil and Horace. Home policy, guided by Agrippa and Maecenas, was wise and just and on the whole popular. After years of civil war, the people enjoyed the great benefits flowing from peace. Credit was restored: trade and industry revived, and thanks to wise government, prosperity returned to Italy.

The shrines of the gods had fallen into decay: their worship had been neglected in the long years of civil war. Augustus restored the old houses of the gods and built many new ones. The magnificent buildings that rose under his sway caused him to say with truth that he had found Rome brick and left it marble. He himself held many high religious offices, as did all the members of his family. Livia, his wife, guarded the worship of Juno, the goddess of marriage. In Rome marriage had gone out of fashion, and the true Roman population was shrinking. To prevent its decline laws were passed fining the unmarried, while grants from the public purse were made to those who had three or more children.

Augustus made strict laws about marriage, but he forced the members of his own family to get married and unmarried, without caring for their feelings, in a way which really lowered the dignity of marriage in the public eyes. It was a deep grief to him, and a great difficulty, that his wife Livia, though she brought him two stepsons, gave him no son to whom he could hand on the guidance of the state after his own death. Troubles in his own house darkened the later years of his reign. His first wife, Scribonia, had borne him a daughter named Julia.

His sister Octavia had by her first husband, Marcellus, a son likewise called Marcellus, and a daughter Marcella, married to Agrippa. Agrippa had no desire to be first while Augustus lived, but Augustus was delicate. In 25 B.C. and again in 23 B.C. he was struck down by severe illness, and Agrippa certainly dreamed of succeeding him. Augustus, however, meant to keep the empire in his own family. Since he had no son, he intended the husband of his daughter to rule after his death. Julia therefore was married to young Marcellus, 25 B.C.
who was beloved both by his uncle and the people of Rome. Within the year, however, Marcellus fell ill of malaria, and died. Thereupon Agrippa was forced to divorce Marcella and marry her brother's widow, Julia. All now seemed safe. Agrippa was made the emperor's consort, and he and Julia had two sons, Gaius and Lucius, and a daughter, Agrippina. These sons were adopted into the imperial family. They were, however, still very 12 B.C.
young when Agrippa died, and since Augustus was in failing health he had to look for another protector for them. He turned to his two stepsons. Livia, a woman of strong character, had been married first to Tiberius Claudius Nero, and had two sons, Tiberius Claudius Nero and Nero Claudius Drusus, for whom she cherished great ambitions. Drusus, the younger, a brilliant soldier, had married Antonia, the daughter of Octavia and Marcus Antonius: Tiberius, the elder, Vipsania, daughter of Agrippa by his first wife. He was devoted to her. Nevertheless Augustus compelled Tiberius to put away Vipsania, Agrippa's daughter, and marry Julia, Agrippa's 11 B.C.
widow. The emperor did not love his elder stepson, who, though able both as a soldier and a statesman, was grave and silent; and Tiberius knew that he was married to Julia in order to protect her young sons, Gaius and Lucius. His bitterness grew, for a few years after this

forced marriage the shameless life of Julia became the common talk of Rome, and at length reached the ears
2 B.C. of Augustus. The old emperor banished his daughter to a barren island and refused to forgive her. Her lovers were exiled or put to death. Not long afterwards first Lucius (A.D. 2) and then Gaius Caesar (A.D. 4) died, and
A.D. 4 Augustus had no choice but to adopt Tiberius.

The military ability of both Tiberius and his brother Drusus had been severely tested in wars in Germany. In 9 B.C. Drusus, a soldier of genius, lost his life in the German forests beyond the Rhine, after adding to the empire a new province which stretched as far as the river Albis. For these exploits he and his sons after him were given the name Germanicus. Tiberius afterwards suppressed risings in the three Gauls and settled the new German province. In A.D. 4 Tiberius was sent out to the Danube to deal with the Pannonian and Dalmatian
A.D. 6 revolts, which were crushed after a war which Roman historians described as the hardest since Hannibal. But these successes were overshadowed in Rome by bad news from the new German province. There, Varus, a weak governor, had been blind to the signs of the storm brewing and deaf to the warnings addressed to him. Arminius, prince of the Cherusci, had served under the Roman standard and been made a Roman citizen by Augustus. He had learned much and used his new knowledge to organize a revolt. Varus trusted Arminius, and allowed himself to be led, with his army, into the depths of the Teutoburg forest and there surrounded
A.D. 9 by the foe. Of twenty thousand men only a handful escaped. Three Roman eagles were taken. From Rome measures were promptly taken: the Rhine defences were strengthened and reorganized. But the new German provinces between the Rhine and the Albis were lost. Augustus felt the blow severely. He let his hair

and beard grow long and cried aloud, 'Varus, Varus, give me back my legions', beating his aged head against the wall. Five years later he died.

§ II. Tiberius (A.D. 14–37)

Tiberius, the elder stepson of Augustus, was a man over fifty when he succeeded him as emperor, and a man whose grave and reserved temper had been shadowed into gloom by constant slights and disappointments. Augustus had again and again passed him over, destroyed his personal happiness, and only adopted him at last when there was no one else: and Tiberius was embittered and suspicious. The Roman world accepted him without enthusiasm. Their affections were called out not by Tiberius but by his nephew Germanicus, whose guardian he had been made by Augustus. Fortunately Germanicus was thoroughly loyal. On the Rhine, where he was general, a mutiny broke out among the eight legions. The soldiers demanded less work and more pay, and declared that Germanicus should be emperor. Germanicus, however, praised Tiberius to the troops, and promised to put before him all they asked. The mutiny broke out again, so dangerously that Germanicus decided to send his wife Agrippina (the daughter of Agrippa and Julia) out of the camp with her little son. But when the soldiers saw her going, carrying in her arms the little Gaius, their playfellow, whom they nicknamed Caligula (Boots), their hearts were touched. Agrippina was the granddaughter of Augustus whom they reverenced, and the daughter-in-law of Drusus whom they had adored. They gave way. The faithfulness of Germanicus, who might have marched on Rome at the head of his legions, saved Tiberius.

Germanicus then carried out two invasions of Germany 15

to avenge the defeat of Varus. First he pressed into the Teutoburg forest to bury the bleaching bones of the slaughtered Romans, which still lay there. But the campaign as a whole was not a success. Next year,
16 however, there was fought the great battle of Idistaviso, in which Arminius was completely defeated. He still lived and Germany was not conquered, although Germanicus, recalled to Rome by the emperor, celebrated a brilliant triumph in the year A.D. 17. Among the captives who adorned his train was Thusnelda, the wife of Arminius. People in Rome were ready to say that Germanicus had been recalled because the emperor was jealous of his popularity, but as a matter of fact Tiberius saw that to conquer, and still more to hold, the lands between the Rhine and the Albis would take longer and cost more than any gain could be worth. Germanicus was sent to settle the affairs of the eastern provinces beyond the Hellespont. This he did easily enough until, in Syria, he came into collision with C. Calpurnius Piso, the governor. Piso was a haughty and aggressive nobleman, whose wife, Plancina, was on intimate terms with Livia and on very bad terms with Agrippina. When at Antioch Germanicus suddenly and mysteriously fell ill, whispers went about that he had been poisoned. On his death-bed Germanicus himself urged his friends to avenge
19 him on Piso and Plancina. Throughout Italy deep sorrow was felt for the loss of Germanicus; and when, after the funeral, the emperor reproved the people for their excessive grief, saying that princes were mortal but the republic eternal, suspicion arose, though with no shadow of proof, that he had known of the crime of which Piso was believed to have been guilty. Piso committed suicide. His wife was protected by Livia.

The wise and just government of Tiberius, his careful attention to the welfare of the provinces and of Rome,

did little to make him beloved in the city, where men complained of dullness because he suppressed extravagant games and gladiatorial shows. The emperor knew he was unpopular, and grew more and more fearful of plots. There arose a class of men known as delators, who lived by informing the government of plots, often accusing quite innocent persons and driving them to suicide in despair. The power of these delators grew terrible when Tiberius fell under the influence of Sejanus. The emperor trusted Sejanus, the prefect of his praetorian or body-guard, and believed him alone to be absolutely faithful: when his own son Drusus warned him that Sejanus was dangerously ambitious, he laughed. But Sejanus had won the heart of Livilla, the lovely wife of Drusus, and together they plotted the death of the emperor's son. In A.D. 23 23
Drusus suddenly died. No one suspected foul play at the time, least of all Tiberius, who leaned more and more on Sejanus. His death was a heavy blow. The unwilling emperor was obliged to adopt as his heirs the sons of Germanicus. Sejanus was bent on destroying the family of Germanicus, which stood in the way of his own ambition, and his chief enemy now was Agrippina. The perpetual wrangling of the four imperial widows at the court—Livia, Antonia (the widow of Drusus the elder), Agrippina, and Livilla—was therefore encouraged by him. Livilla was in his power, although Tiberius had indignantly refused to allow their marriage, and he persuaded Agrippina that Tiberius was plotting to poison her.

Suddenly Tiberius left Rome and went to live on the 26
little island of Capreae. He continued to attend to business, but allowed informing by the delators to go on more busily than ever in Rome, where Sejanus was in charge, so that senators and rich men lived in terror. Of Sejanus, Tiberius had no suspicion : all his fears were of Agrippina and her sons. One day letters from Capreae

accusing them reached the senate, and they were
30 banished to desert islands. The power of Sejanus appeared to grow daily. In Rome he seemed more powerful than the emperor himself. But suspicion had awakened in the mind of Tiberius: and now Antonia, his sister-in-law, told him that Sejanus was plotting to kill him, when he came to Rome. Another great letter from Capreae reached the senate. Macro was made prefect of the guard, Sejanus arrested, haled off to
32 prison and strangled there. The statues of him which had been set up were all hurled down and his family and friends executed. For a year the prosecution of those supposed to have known of the conspiracy went on.

Horrible stories came to Rome of the life led by the emperor in his retreat. Meantime Agrippina and her two elder sons had perished of starvation on their barren islands, and there was no successor to the empire but Gaius, the youngest son of Germanicus, once nicknamed Caligula by the soldiers, for Gemellus, the emperor's
37 grandson, was sickly and too young. Suddenly, in A.D. 37, and when the emperor was in his 78th year, he left Capreae for Rome. On the way he died.

§ III. Gaius (Caligula) (A.D. 37–41)

The people of Rome hailed the death of Tiberius and the accession of young Gaius Caesar, whom the senate at once elected emperor, with unconcealed delight. Thousands of victims were sacrificed to the gods in thanksgiving. Gaius made lavish promises of good government, which pleased the senate, and distributed rich gifts to the soldiery and populace. Every one saw a new era opening. None recalled the saying of Tiberius, that Gaius was born to be the perdition of himself and of all men: but its truth soon appeared. Gaius' head was

full of Eastern ideas, and after a very few months he gave himself up to more than Eastern dissipation. His brain was narrow and unstable, his constitution weak, and he was liable to epileptic fits. His first severe illness called forth the sympathy of the entire empire, but that sympathy did not last, for on his recovery Gaius plunged into wilder orgies. He lowered his imperial dignity in the eyes of his subjects by his delight in dancing and by himself taking part in the shows in the arena. He held himself above all laws human and divine, claimed to be worshipped in his lifetime, and pretended to converse with the gods. His extravagant building schemes and the preposterous shows on which he squandered enormous sums emptied the treasury, filled by the careful Tiberius. To get more money he began to persecute the rich and confiscate their possessions and estates. Heavy taxes were laid upon the provinces, and finally on Italy and Rome as well, which ended such popularity as the emperor's cruelty had left him. It was when he discovered his unpopularity that Gaius wished that the Roman people had only one neck that he might smite it. At last, however, after less than four years of tyranny, a successful conspiracy was formed by the officers of the praetorian guard, who slew the emperor on his way to the races. Thus, at the age of thirty, Gaius perished, the first Roman emperor to fall by the dagger of the assassin, but by no means the last.

§ IV. Claudius (A.D. 41–54)

The soldiers who had murdered Caligula had also chosen his successor. While the senate was discussing whether it would not be well to revive the republic they had dragged forth Claudius, the brother of Germanicus and uncle of the dead emperor, and proclaimed him

emperor. The senate had simply to accept the decision of the soldiers. Claudius at first refused the honours thrust upon him, but he was persuaded to yield, although there were voices which murmured that if Caligula was a madman, Claudius was an idiot. Here, however, they were wrong. Claudius, who had been treated with contempt by Tiberius and made the butt of Gaius, was fifty years of age, ungainly and almost deformed in appearance, and in many ways not unlike James I of England. Like him he was a learned pedant, who loved to do everything in the ancient way. He wished to be as much unlike Gaius and as much like Augustus as possible. All those who had been exiled were recalled, including Julia and Agrippina, the sisters of Gaius; prisoners were pardoned and estates restored. Justice was carefully administered. Great public works were carried out, among them being the construction of a new port, which proved of the greatest advantage, since it enabled the corn supplies to be brought right up to Rome.

The administration of the provinces was much improved, and a new province added, Britain. The conquest of Britain was one of the designs of the great Julius which Augustus had not carried out, although he had intended to do so. Gaius had not got further, on his
43 expedition, than the shores of Northern Gaul. In A. D. 43 a force of some fifty thousand men was sent across the Channel. They landed, and, after stubborn fighting,
44 pressed on to the river Thames and encamped near Londinium. In the next year Claudius came in person, and the Britons were routed at a great battle near Camalodunum. Claudius, little as he had done himself, celebrated a triumph when he reached home, and the name Britannicus was given to the infant son of his wife Messalina. Aulus Plautius was left in charge in Britain, and for several years a war of conquest went on in which

battles were won by Plautius's legate, Vespasian. Osto- 47
rius Scapula, the successor of Plautius, found an able opponent in Caractacus, who showed great skill in choosing his ground. Caractacus was finally defeated in 51
A. D. 51, and led through the streets of Rome in triumph.

The conquest of Britain cast a certain glory on Claudius, but the Romans felt a contempt for the awkward, undignified, and stupid emperor, who was governed by women and freedmen. The vile life of the empress Messalina was known to every one in Rome, but while she allowed the emperor's secretaries, Narcissus and Pallas, to rob him right and left, they hid from their master the vices of his wife. Many noble men and women lost their lives because of the jealousy of the empress or the greed of these two freedmen. But when Messalina fell in love with a nobleman named Silius, who certainly hoped to take Claudius's place on the throne, and actually went through a form of marriage with him, Narcissus and Pallas were alarmed for themselves and told Claudius. Silius and Messalina were both put to death. When Claudius, who was at dinner, heard that 43
she was dead, he merely asked for another cup of wine. He was falling into dotage and, moreover, was now under the influence of another woman, much cleverer than Messalina. This was his niece Agrippina. Less than a year after Messalina's death Agrippina married her uncle, and became empress in name as she had long 49
been in fact. Her head appeared on the coins: she sat by the emperor's side when he received envoys or friends. This, however, did not satisfy Agrippina. She was determined that the next emperor should not be Britannicus, but Nero, her son by her first husband, Domitius Ahenobarbus, grandson of Octavia, the sister of Augustus and wife to Marcus Antonius. To this end she stopped at nothing. The young Nero was formally adopted by

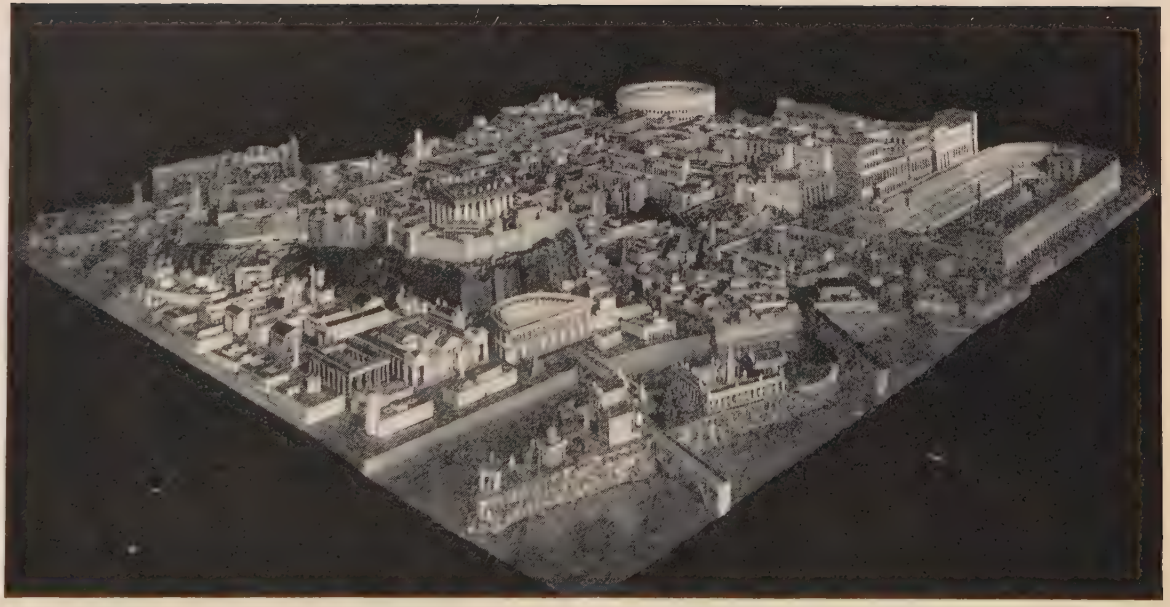
Claudius, and married in A.D. 53 to his cousin Octavia, whose former husband had been driven to suicide by Agrippina. To Britannicus, Octavia's brother, and the legitimate heir, Agrippina was constantly cruel, and did her best to poison the tottering mind of his father against him. Narcissus was devoted to the young prince, and Agrippina did not feel safe. In the absence of Nar-
54 cissus, Claudius suddenly died. It was more than suspected that Agrippina had hastened his end. Burrus, the prefect of the praetorian guards, proclaimed Nero as emperor. The will of Claudius was not read. No one raised a voice in favour of Britannicus.

§ V. Nero (A.D. 54–68)

Domitius Ahenobarbus, the father of the new emperor, and a man of infamous character, said at the birth of his son that the child of such a man as himself and such a mother as Agrippina must be a monster. Nero at his accession was but seventeen. His teacher, the philosopher Seneca, had not been able to interest him in any severe study, such as might have fitted him to rule the Roman world. The things he really cared for were music and singing. Agrippina indeed intended to rule. Her head appeared on the coins with that of her son. At first Nero was quite ready to leave the business of government in the hands of the 'best of mothers', but Agrippina was strict and arrogant, and he wanted to do as he liked. Seneca and Burrus were by no means minded to let a woman rule, least of all a woman as cruel and unscrupulous as Agrippina. They persuaded Nero to dismiss Pallas, her chief counsellor, whom he had always disliked. This made Agrippina furious against her son. She took up the cause of Britannicus and threatened to appeal to the army in his favour. Nero

Roman pits in which stakes were driven (jestingly called LILIA, 'lilies') guarding a Roman fort in Britain

Section of the Western front in the Great War.
An ancient and modern problem with the same solution



ROME AS IT WAS RESTORED AND REBUILT AFTER THE FIRE

Reproduced by kind permission of the Curators, The Free Public Museum, Liverpool

was terrified. A poisoned winecup was prepared for Britannicus, who suddenly fell down dead at the emperor's table. The gulf between Agrippina and her son grew. 55
When she took up the cause of his wife Octavia, whom he treated with neglect and cruelty, he began to hate his mother. The administration of the state was taken out of her hands and put into those of Seneca and Burrus, who managed it well: Nero meantime gave himself up to low pleasures. He wandered about the streets of Rome by night with a band of dissolute young brawlers. Among them was a young nobleman, Salvius Otho, with whose wife, Poppaea Sabina, said to be the loveliest and most shameless woman in Rome, Nero fell in love. Poppaea was determined to be empress. The difficulty was Agrippina. Nero had long detested his mother, and after murdering Britannicus in cold blood he did not shrink from the thought of destroying his mother. He 59
pretended that Agrippina had been plotting against his life, and, without the knowledge of Burrus and Seneca, caused her to be murdered. His story of her plots was believed, and throughout Italy thanksgivings were offered to the gods who had preserved the emperor's life.

Nero's popularity, however, soon wore away. His appearance on the stage as a singer and actor disgusted the Romans, who thought the theatrical profession only fit for slaves, and saw the emperor becoming more and more like Gaius. Burrus died in A.D. 62, and under the 62
evil influence of Poppaea Nero quarrelled with Seneca. At the same time Nero formed a friend of the worst sort in Tigellinus, the new prefect of the guard. Tigellinus was not only vicious but cruel, and he encouraged Nero in both vice and cruelty. Noblemen were executed on absurd charges. Poppaea, with Tigellinus to back her, persuaded Nero to divorce the innocent Octavia. Then, finding that the masses sympathized with Octavia, he

63 put her to death. Her head was carried to Poppaea, whom Nero had married the year before. The worst days of Gaius were now renewed. The court was incredibly vicious, and Nero's vices were flaunted in the eyes of all Rome. As in the time of Gaius, the treasury was beggared, and the old methods had to be used for getting money. Rich men were executed in order to seize their money and estates.

64 The financial difficulties, already bad enough, were made much worse by the great fire which broke out in July 64 and raged for seven nights and six days without ceasing, only to break out again in the Campus Martius. Of the fourteen regions into which the city was divided, seven were completely reduced to ashes and four partly destroyed. Numerous temples, among them some of the most ancient in Rome, perished, and many of the magnificent buildings of Augustus, together with priceless treasures of Greek and Roman art. Nero is said to have gazed with the delight of an artist at the marvellous spectacle ; but the story that he started the fire is certainly false. He did everything he could to quell the flames and to relieve the distress of the people. Later he began rebuilding the city on a new and more splendid plan. His new palace—the Golden House of Nero—with its superb parks, was the wonder of Rome. Every one believed that the fire was not wholly accidental. Popular suspicion fell on the members of a new and unpopular religious sect, the Christians. Christians were burned alive in the Vatican gardens and served as torches to light the chariot races there, in which Nero took part. Even Rome was shocked by this callousness, and Nero became more and more detestable in the people's eyes. Tigellinus was incessantly busy, discovering conspiracies and pretenders. This was one of his main devices for filling the empty imperial coffers. The nobles were in

fact seething with discontent, and in 65 a serious plot 65
was formed to murder Nero and put Calpurnius Piso in his place. Among the conspirators was the poet Lucan, and the aged Seneca was accused of sharing the plot, which was discovered and ruthlessly suppressed. Throughout these years Nero was busy in the way he most enjoyed—as an actor. In 65 he appeared on the public stage in Naples and in the next year went to 66
Greece, where he danced and sang in public.

Discontent was not only rife in Rome. Rumours began to be heard in the provinces. In 68 a really serious rebellion broke out in Gaul under Vindex, and in Spain, Galba, the governor, raised the standard of 68
rebellion in the name of the senate. Nero was terrified by the news of Galba's rising, the more so that Nymphidius Sabinus, the other prefect of the praetorian guards, declared himself on Galba's side. The soldiers on the whole were loyal, but Nero lost his head. His frantic cowardice disgusted his own supporters. When he fled from Rome only a few freedmen went with him. On hearing that the senate had condemned him to death the emperor killed himself, crying 'What an artist I am to perish!' Throughout the empire the news was hailed with joy.

§ VI. The Year of Four Emperors (A.D. 68–69)

The chief part in the fall of Nero had been played by Nymphidius Sabinus, who secretly aimed at seizing the supreme power in the state for himself. But the soldiers of the praetorian guard declared for Galba, and the senate 68
sent a deputation to meet him as he advanced from Spain. In Gaul he rewarded the cities which had sided with Vindex and punished those who had remained faithful to Nero. This disgusted the Germanic legions, who began to clamour loudly for a new emperor. In Rome.

too, Galba soon made himself unpopular by his severe discipline and bad choice of advisers. Otho, the former husband of Poppaea, who had returned to Rome from Spain with Galba, was soon plotting to supplant him.
69 He won first the praetorians to his side, then the soldiers in the camp outside, and marched upon Rome. Galba was slain, and the senate accepted Otho, the emperor chosen by the army. Otho's seat was an uneasy one, however. In Germany the discontented legions had already saluted Vitellius, commander of the forces in Lower Germany, as emperor. The western provinces, Gaul and Britain, and afterwards Spain, recognized him. Vitellius was lazy by temper and a glutton. Only the enthusiasm of the troops forced him on. In March civil war began between the followers of Otho and those of Vitellius. Neither leader was worth the shedding of Roman blood. Otho, despite his worthless character, proved an active general, and marched rapidly north at the head of his troops. At Locus Castorum, twelve miles from Cremona, his advanced guard would have secured a decisive victory over Caecina, the commander of the Vitellians, but for the treachery of one of the generals. Otho meantime came up with the main body, and at Cremona a battle was fought which ended in his defeat. Otho killed himself. The soldiers of Vitellius were soon masters of Rome. The news of the death of Otho, whom men had feared as a second Nero, was hailed there with joy. Vitellius himself advanced slowly: he was met by his victorious generals and entered Rome in triumph. Fortunately he was not cruel, and his administration, while it lasted, was fairly good. But his reign was short. He had been made emperor by the German legions. The legions of the East looked on jealously, and did not see why they should not make an emperor too. A letter from Otho was produced, calling upon the East to avenge his death, as he had tried to

avenge that of Nero. The legions turned to the legate of Judaea, that same Vespasian who had done good work in Britain. On July 1, 69, Vespasian was proclaimed emperor at Alexandria, and the eastern and Illyrian armies eagerly embraced his cause. He immediately occupied Egypt, the centre of the corn supply, while the Illyric armies under Primus advanced into Northern Italy and defeated the armies of Vitellius at Betriacum near Cremona. The fleet at Misenum declared for Vespasian. Campania followed suit. It was winter, but Primus crossed the Apennines in heavy snow. Vitellius, in despair, resigned the empire, but his guards insisted on defending Rome. The army of Vespasian attacked Rome in three divisions and finally stormed it. Vitellius was killed. Until Vespasian himself arrived, Primus allowed the soldiers to plunder the city, but Vespasian at once repressed all disorder. The senate recognized the victorious general as emperor, the fourth within a single year.

TRAJAN See p. 185

CHAPTER XII

THE FLAVIAN AND ANTONINE EMPERORS

§ I. The Flavians

§§ i. Vespasian (A. D. 69–79)

The new emperor, T. Flavius Vespasianus, founded a new dynasty, for he had two sons, Titus, who was
70 made his consort and soon won military distinction by suppressing the revolt of the Jews, and Domitian, and both these sons ruled. Fortunately for Rome, Vespasian, unlike Galba, Otho, or Vitellius, was a man of strong sense, strong character, and strong will. He had to restore order in the Roman world after years of bad government and civil war, and he did his work well. It looked as though the machine invented by Augustus had broken down; but Vespasian restored it so that it worked smoothly for a hundred years. The restoration of the Capitol was at once begun, and next year, when
71 Titus returned from Judaea, the temple of Janus was again closed. The poets of the age, Martial and Statius, sing of the 'pax Vespasiana' as Horace and Virgil had sung of the 'pax Augusta'. Thanks to peace, wealth began to grow again, although Vespasian had found the treasury bankrupt, the coinage debased, and the country impoverished by war. The poverty of the exchequer compelled Vespasian to impose taxes which made him unpopular in spite of his good and just government.

Rome under Vespasian was adorned with many splendid buildings. The emperor erected a superb temple to Peace, the goddess whom he loved above all: but his

most famous work was the Colosseum, a huge amphitheatre which held nearly 90,000 spectators, and in which vast gladiatorial and other shows were given.

Vespasian was sixty when he became emperor: after ten years of strenuous work he died, standing, as he said an emperor should. Like Augustus and the absurd Claudius, he was added by the senate to the number of the gods.

§§ ii. Titus (A.D. 79–81)

Titus, the eldest son of Vespasian, had as a boy been the playmate of the hapless Britannicus. He was a good general, the darling of the soldiers, and popular in Rome for his ability, culture, and beauty. But at the time of his accession he was suffering from a mortal disease. After three years, marked by magnificent entertainments, which recalled the days of Gaius, and emptied the treasury which Vespasian had so laboriously filled, Titus died. He was succeeded by his brother Domitian, who was just thirty.

§§ iii. Domitian (A.D. 81–96)

Domitian inherited all his father's iron will and more than his father's ability. His temper was autocratic and unbending, and Roman writers like Tacitus, from whose accounts his reign has been judged, loathed him because he despised the senate and reduced it to powerlessness. The senate never had much real power; but Domitian took away even the shadow of authority and openly ruled alone. During his reign wars were carried on under the emperor's own command against the Dacians and Germans on the frontiers of the Danube. Domitian was a good soldier, and in 83 celebrated a triumph and assumed the name Germanicus. In

Britain, too, successful campaigns had been fought by Agricola in 78 and 79, and in 83 this policy was completed by the conquest of Scotland. All this cost money. Moreover, Domitian continued the policy of Vespasian in putting up splendid buildings, while at the same time he was extremely generous in his gifts to the people and his friends, and expended large sums on magnificent shows. Further, he increased the pay of the army, since he knew that his power really rested on the devotion of the soldiers. Need of money drove him, towards the latter part of his reign, to the same policy of plundering the nobles which had been employed by Gaius and by Nero. This policy was necessary if the people of Italy and the provinces were not to be heavily taxed. Heavy taxation would make the emperor unpopular. Domitian therefore preferred to oppress the rich. This is mainly why he has come down to history as the 'cruel emperor'. The other reason was that he had no son and, like Tiberius, whom he greatly admired, lived in a perpetual fear of conspirators. The evil delators arose again, and the nobles went in terror of their lives. His fears were not without reason. In 96 a serious plot was formed to murder the emperor and put M. Cocceius Nerva in his stead. Domitia, the empress, whom Domitian had divorced, took part in
96 it, and in September Domitian was assassinated. The soldiers grieved, but the senate rejoiced. The people, who had seen little of the emperor, who withdrew more and more into solitude in the last years of his reign, did not care.

§ II. Nerva (A.D. 96–98)

Nerva, the new emperor, was a colourless and inoffensive man, over sixty. He was the nominee of the senate. He took the oath, which the Flavians had refused, never

to put a senator to death, and kept it during his short term of power. His health was weak and he immediately chose a consort. This choice was, indeed, his most important act, since he selected not a relative of his own, but the legate of Upper Germany, M. Ulpius Trajanus, a brilliant soldier. This choice, which was accepted without murmur by the senate and people, showed how great a change in opinion had taken place since the time of Augustus. Then it had been held doubtful whether an Italian born on the farther side of the Po could serve in the praetorian guards. Trajan was not a Roman by birth, not even an Italian : a Spaniard.

§ III. Trajan (A.D. 98–117)

Trajan stands alone among the Roman emperors. He was a soldier first and foremost and carried on an aggressive policy by which he extended the boundaries of the empire. In other ways, too, he was one of the greatest of emperors: just, moderate, wise, strong. At the time of his accession Trajan was fighting on the Rhine, 98
settling the provinces, some of which Tacitus had just described in his 'Germania'. In this book he stated, with great foresight, that the greatest danger to Rome lay in Germany. This Trajan saw. Having settled the German provinces he went on in 98–99 to the Danube, where he made preparations for war against the Dacians. After two years (99 and 100) in Rome, he returned to the Danube in 101 and spent that 101
year and the next in war against the Dacian king, 102
Decebalus, who had tried to form a great military state in the reign of Domitian. The war was severe. After one battle the Roman losses were so heavy that the emperor gave his own clothes for bandages for the wounded. In the end, however, Trajan's success was

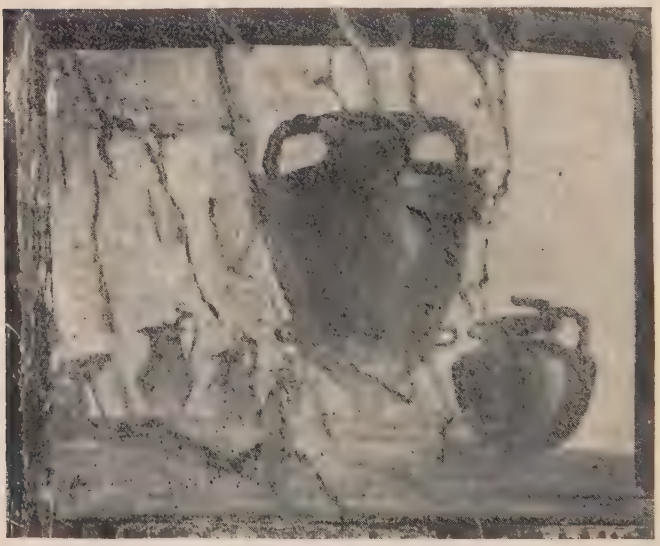
complete. Sarmizegethusa, the Dacian capital, was garrisoned, and Dacia made into a free state dependent on Rome. Decebalus, however, had no intention of remaining in submission, and at once began plotting to throw off the Roman yoke. Trajan then resolved
104 to make Dacia a province. In 104 Decebalus was declared to be an enemy of the Roman people, and by the end of 106 Dacia had been thoroughly subdued by the emperor, who celebrated a magnificent triumph on his return to Rome. In the centre of the great forum he was building Trajan set up a mighty column, which still stands, bearing the sculptured history of the Dacian wars. Dacia was now thoroughly colonized, and Thrace, where rebellious movements had been stirring, became tranquil.

Trajan was always scrupulously courteous to the senate and preserved all the outward forms of free government. Thinkers like the historian Pliny knew that Rome was under the rule of one man ; but Trajan's rule was good and for the public interest. Finance was well managed. The court was economical, although splendid shows were given from time to time, and wealth poured into the public treasury from the rich Dacian mines. The home government was careful : the welfare of Italy was considered, agriculture was encouraged, and traffic improved both by sea and land. Trajan set his face sternly against terrorism of any sort or accusation by delators. He refused to persecute the Christians, as Domitian had done, or any other sect as such. Only individuals who broke the law were punished : for example, those who refused to worship the emperor's image.

Trajan's last wars were in the East. Arabia had been added as a province by his officers while he was in Dacia.
113 The king of Parthia, Chosroes, refused to recognize the

COMMERCE. The sign over a bootmaker's shop in Pompeii

COMMERCE. A shop-front and counter in Pompeii



COMMERCE. Sign over a hardware shop

king of Armenia named by Trajan. Trajan at once declared war and left Rome in 113. Armenia was subdued and made a Roman province, and Trajan then proceeded against Parthia. The capital—Ctesiphon—was captured. Babylonia and Mesopotamia were soon conquered, and the Tigris instead of the Euphrates made 116
the eastern boundary of the empire. Trajan desired to press on. But he was old and from home disquieting news came. The Jews were rising. A revolt broke out in Britain. On the Danube the Sarmatians began to stir. Trajan had to turn back. On the way, however, he was attacked by illness, and in Cilicia he died on 117
August 8, 117.

§ IV. Hadrian (A.D. 117–138)

Trajan left no son, but before setting out on his eastern expedition he had clearly marked out his cousin, Aelius Hadrianus, as his successor, although he had not formally adopted him. As soon as the news of Trajan's death reached Rome, the soldiers proclaimed Hadrian emperor. He was in all ways extremely unlike Trajan. He cared nothing for military glory: nor indeed did the bulk of Romans of the time. Peace was what they wanted, and peace Hadrian gave. His reign, indeed, begins a new period—a period of peace in which the main interest is turned to home affairs, to defence and consolidation. He surrendered Trajan's new provinces in the East, and devoted himself to the interests of the people of the empire. His most important work was the civil service he created—a body of trained public servants who looked after the administration of the realm. To Hadrian all his subjects were men, not the Romans only; he was interested in them all. A writer of the time described him as a searcher out of all curiosities. He visited every

part of the empire, from Britain to the East; and studied all known branches of art and learning. In feeling he was passionately Greek: too much so for most of his subjects. But on the whole Hadrian represented the changed spirit of the age and its wider view of the world. He refused gifts left him by men who had children, saying that he had rather enrich the state with men than with money. Hadrian's laws were all humane. He softened the punishments given to slaves and dealt severely with those who were cruel to their servants. He improved life in Rome in countless ways, and more splendid buildings were added in his reign than in that of any other ruler. Other important acts were the reform of the army and the strengthening of the frontier defences. In his latter years Hadrian suffered so severely from dropsy that he left Rome in charge of his adopted successor, Titus Antoninus, while he himself went to live in Baiae. In 138 he died.

§ V. The Antonines.

§§ i. Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161)

Although Hadrian had been beloved by the people, the nobles of Rome had not liked him: they called him 'Greekling', and were glad when Antoninus took his place in 138. To him the title of Pius was given for his mildness of character, his genuine devotion to the gods, and the gentleness and goodness of his life. He continued the peace policy of Hadrian, and his reign, like Hadrian's, is marked by few outside events. The emperor was a man of good but not outstanding ability. His home life was extremely simple: he had no extravagant habits; he was devoted to affairs and most careful of the good of his people. The chief work of his reign was the gradual improvement and ordering of the

laws carried out under his direction. All his efforts were to make the laws less severe and as just as possible.

Antoninus had no living sons, but in the reign of Hadrian he had adopted two. These were his own nephew, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, who was married to the emperor's daughter, Faustina the younger; and Lucius Verus, whose sister, Faustina the elder, was the wife of the emperor. These two sons lived in the house of Antoninus Pius, and Marcus was his close companion and the sharer of his work and plans. The death 161
of Antoninus called out unfeigned grief. His funeral was celebrated by magnificent games in the Colosseum. Every one agreed that he was an emperor really worthy to be added to the gods: and this was done.

§§ ii. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (A.D. 161–180)

Plato in his 'Republic' declared that in the perfect state the philosopher would be king. Marcus Aurelius was more like Plato's ideal ruler than any man who has ever sat upon a throne. Public and private life were with him directed by the single aim of doing what his conscience bade him. He was a philosopher of the Stoic school and even as emperor lived the severe and simple life which that philosophy commanded. His only mistake was that he imagined that other men were always actuated by the same high motives as himself. His wise and just and careful government could not, by itself, keep the empire at peace. Throughout his reign, indeed, wars raged on the frontiers—on the Euphrates and the Danube—which cost a heavy toll of life and entirely emptied the treasury, so much so that Marcus was obliged to sell the crown jewels. At the opening of the reign 162
there was a rising in Britain which was easily put down. The danger from the East was more serious. In Parthia

a Roman legion was cut to pieces. A more powerful
163 force recovered what was lost and even extended the boundary of the empire at Parthia's expense. But the soldiers returning home from the Tigris brought plague with them. It spread throughout the East, and devas-
166 tated Italy and Rome. People died in thousands, and later historians state that the Roman population never rose to its former size again.

On the Danube, too, serious trouble arose because the Germans in central and northern Europe began to press southwards and drove the Marcomanni, Quadi, and other tribes into the Roman territory. This caused a war
167– which lasted thirteen years. It was so dangerous that
180 the emperor had to take command in person. Marcus was not a soldier : but he was a statesman, and he saw how grave the peril was. Indeed he foresaw that the pressing on of these northern barbarians might finally break the empire up. Trajan had been right in conquering Dacia. His policy must be pushed on.

Marcus died in 180. His reign marks the end of an epoch. With his successor, Commodus, the period described by Gibbon as the decline and fall of the empire begins.

A Roman dog

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Aeneas, 85.
Aeschylus, 38.
Agamemnon, 85.
Agesilaus, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68.
Agis, 44, 55.
Alcibiades, 47–50, 55, 61.
Alcmaeonidae, 19, 22, 36, 47.
Alexander I of Macedon, 30.
Alexander II of Macedon, 68.
Alexander the Great of Macedon, 71, 72, 73, 74–85, 151, 161.
Amulius, 85.
Anaxagoras, 36.
Antiochus, 126, 127, 128, 129.
Antipater, 75.
Antonius, Marcus, 157, 158, 160.
Archelaus, 70, 143.
Archidamus, 41, 42.
Ariovistus, 153.
Aristagoras, 25.
Aristides, 26, 28, 33, 34.
Aristophanes, 54.
Aristotle, 61.
Arminius, 170.
Artaxerxes, 61, 62, 63.
Augustus, 161, 162, 169.

Bessus, 78.
Bocchus, 138, 139.
Brasidas, 46.
Brennus, 95, 96, 97.
Britannicus, 177.
Brutus, *see* Junius.
Brutus, Marcus, 161.
Bucephalus, 80.

Caepio, 139.
Caesar, *see* Julius.
Callimachus, 26, 27.
Camillus, 91, 92, 95–100.
Carbo, 139, 144.
Cassivelaunus, 154.
Catiline, 150.
Catulus, 112.
Cimon, 33, 35.
Cincinnatus, 90, 92.
Cinna, 144.
Claudius, 173–6.
— Appius, 95, 96; (2) 111.
— Nero, 121, 122.
Cleisthenes, 22, 36.
Cleombrotus, 67.
Cleomenes, 22.
Cleon, 43, 45, 48, 56.
Cleopatra, 159, 162.
Cleophon, 56, 57.
Clitus, 80.
Clodius, 148, 154.
Collatinus, 88.
Conon, 57, 62, 63.
Coriolanus, 92.
Cornelia, 135.
Cornelius, L. Sulla, 138–45, 146.
— P. Scipio, 111, 116, 117, 121.
— P. Scipio Africanus, 121–9.
— P. Scipio Aemilianus, 132, 133.
Crassus, *see* Licinius.
Critias, 59, 61.
Croesus, 24, 25.
Curio, 157, 158.
Cylon, 19.
Cyrus, 24–6, 61, 62.

Darius, (1) 25–6; (2) 76, 77.
Datis, 26.
Decius, Publius, (1) 101; (2) 103–4.
Demosthenes, 51, 52.
— the orator, 71–4.
Dentatus, 108.

Dolabella, 105.
Dracon, 20.
Drusus, L., 141.
Duilius, 109.

Egnatius, Gellius, 103, 104.
Epaminondas, 65–9.
Ephialtes, 29.
Euripides, 38, 53, 60, 70.
Eurymedon, 51, 52.

Fabius, Maximus, 102–4, 118, 119.
Fimbria, 144.
Flamininus, Q., 127.
Flaminius, G., 113, 118.

Gaius, (1) 169; (2) 172–3.
Galba, 179–80.
Germanicus, (1) 169; (2) 169–70.
Glabrio, 129.
Gracchus, T., 135, 136.
— G., 136, 137, 140.
Gylippus, 50, 51, 53.

Hadrian, 187–8.
Hamilcar, 112, 114, 115.
Hannibal, 114–29, 131, 143.
Hasdrubal, 115, 121, 122.
Hephaestion, 80–2.
Hiero, 109.
Hipparchus, 22.
Hippias, 22, 25, 27.
Homer, 11, 15, 22.
Horatius, 92, 95.
Hostilius, 86.
Hyperbolus, 43, 47.

Iphicrates, 63.
Isocrates, 61, 64, 71.

Jason of Pherae, 66, 67.
Jugurtha, 138, 139.
Julia, (1) 154; (2) 167.
Julius, G., Caesar, 149–61.
Junius, L. Brutus, 88, 89.
— M., Brutus, 159–60.

Lamachus, 48, 50, 57.
Lars Porsenna, 89, 92.
Leonidas, 28.
Licinius, M., Crassus, 148, 150, 151, 155.
— Q., Crassus, 157.
Livius, 121.
Longinus, 139.
Lucius, 168.
Lucretia, 88.
Lucullus, 147–51.
Lycurgus, 16.
Lysander, 56, 57.
Lysias, 61, 64.

Mago, 115, 120.
Manlius, 101, 110.
Marcellus, (1) 121; (2) 167.
Marcius, Ancus, 86.
Mardonius, 29, 30, 31.
Marius, G., 138–42, 149, 150.
Megacles, 19.
Messalina, 176.
Metellus, 138, 139.
— Cimber, 161.
Milo, 155.
Miltiades, 21, 26, 27, 33.
Mithridates, 142–4, 148, 149.
Mummius, 130.

Narcissus, 176.
Nero, 175–9.
Nerva, 184–5.
Nicias, 45–50.
Numa, 86, 97.

Otho, 180.

Pallas, 175.
Parmenio, 75, 76, 79.
Paullus, Aemilius, (1) 119; (2) 129, 130.
Pausanias, 31, 33, 57, 60.
Pelopidas, 65, 68, 70.
Perdiccas, 70, 75.
Pericles, 36–43, 45, 47, 56.
Perseus, 129, 130.
Pharnabazus, 55.
Pheidippides, 26.
Philip of Macedon, (1) 68, 70–3, 101; (2) 126, 127, 129.
Philotas, 79.
Phormio, 43.
Pindar, 14, 75.
Pisistratus, 21, 22.

Plato, 61.
Polybius, 132, 133.
Pompeius, Cn., 144, 147, 148–59.
Poppaea, 177.
Porcius, M., Cato, (1) 131, 132; (2) 146, 147, 158, 159.
Porus, 80.
Pyrrhus, 106–9, 128.

Regulus, 110, 111.
Remus, 85.
Romulus, 85–6.
Roxana, 80.

Sejanus, 171.
Sempronius, 117.
Sertorius, 147.
Servius Tullius, 87, 88.
Sextius, 99.
Silanus, 139.
Socrates, 60, 61.
Solon, 20, 21.
Sophocles, 38.
Spartacus, 147, 148.
Statira, 82.

Tarquinius Priscus, 86.
—— Superbus, 87–8, 89.
Themistocles, 26–9, 34.
Theramenes, 59.
Thrasybulus, 55, 60.
Thrasyllus, 55.
Thucydides, 42, 46.
Tiberius, 169–70.
Tigellinus, 177.
Tigranes, 148.
Timotheus, 70.
Tissaphernes, 55.
Titus, 183.
Trajan, 185–7.
Tullia, 87.
Tullius, M. Cicero, 146, 147, 150–2.
Tyrtaeus, 16.

Valerius, 95.
Varro, 119, 120.
Varus, 168.
Vercingetorix, 155, 156.
Vespasian, 181–3.
Vindex, 179.
Vitellius, 180.

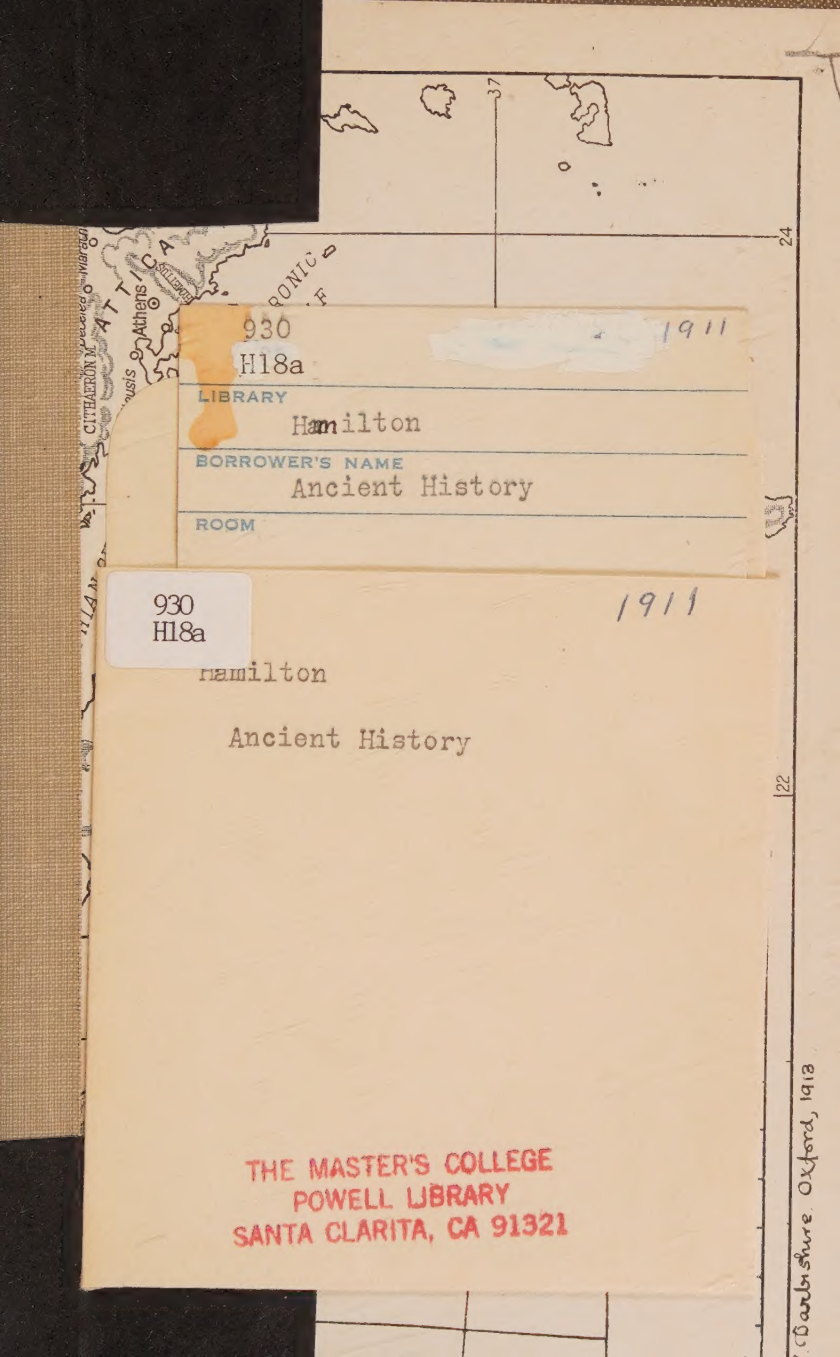
Xanthippus, (1) 31; (2) 110.
Xerxes, 28, 29, 30.

Zeuxis, 70.

An Artificer's tools

GAUL AND GERMANY

B.Y. Barbishire, Oxford, 1913



930
H18a
1911
LIBRARY
Hamilton
BORROWER'S NAME
Ancient History
ROOM

930
H18a
1911
Hamilton
Ancient History

THE MASTER'S COLLEGE
POWELL LIBRARY
SANTA CLARITA, CA 91321

THE MASTER'S COLLEGE
930 H18a MAIN
Hamilton, Mary Agne/An outline of ancien
3 3540 00115 0313